



Canadian Clan of Christ the Crusader



A Black Thorn Publication



In Remembrance, 2018

No Cost to Read

## Remembrance Day Is a War-Mongering NWO Occultist Ritual

Are you prepared for the inevitable 21<sup>st</sup> c. end-times "economic sanctions" & AI Proxy cyber / space & geoengineering war?

The Populist "Five Eyes" Corpscratocratic Bankruptcy Frauds & Unelected Euro-Union commies never did represent the Will of the People.

The Terrorist Deep State / ZOG "Big Pharma" military-industrial complex WILL use nuclear & bio-chemical WMD... because they want too!

The Illuminatist "Anti-White" Globalist Shadow Government + Technocratic Moral Decline of Western Civilization = the cataclysmic death of freedom!

Post-Modernist Cultural Marxism is financing unconstitutional Third World migrant invasion forces, the weaponization of words, censorship and "Fake News."  
Be y<sup>e</sup> aware: "It ain't 'racist' or 'fascist' to naturally prefer your own race or desire to preserve your own hereditary culture. More-so, it be "common sense" to do so!"



"There is no foundation for democracy, because all our State institutions, like schools and universities, have a cultural Marxist and multicultural curriculum. More-and-more nationalists and conservatives realize, as I have realized, that the democratic struggle is pointless. It is not possible to win when there is no real freedom of speech, and many more will realize this in the coming decades and pick up arms. When peaceful revolution is made impossible, violent revolution becomes inevitable."

Anders Behring Breivik  
Tuesday, 17 April 2012



Be y<sup>e</sup> Aware: Canadian Police, Border Security, Military and Secret Service are full of Traitors and foreign-born Mercenaries.

"Mercenary troops are worthless, namely that they have no incitement to keep them true to you beyond the pittance which you pay them which neither is nor can be sufficient motive for them for such fidelity and devotion which would make them willing to die in your behalf. But in those armies which there exists not such an attachment for him who they fight makes them devoted to his cause, there never will be valour enough to make him withstand an enemy if only he be a little brave; and since such attachment and devotion cannot be called for from any, save your own subjects, you must, if you would preserve your dominion or maintain your commonwealth or dominion arm the natives of your country as we see to have been done by all those who have achieved great things in war."

Niccolo Machiavelli,  
Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius, Book 1, Chapter 43,  
That men fighting in their own cause make good and resolute soldiers.



## The True History of Mayhem and Bloodshed and Warfare in Canada

Concerning the French, English, Dutch & Spanish Conquest of Acadia, Québec, Louisiana, and Colonial America

&

The Franco-Anglo colonization of Rupert's Land, the North-West Territories and the Dominion of Canada

- from earliest times to the present day and age -

Important Note: This document was simply written in "Romanized Modern English" - but was not composed using either "gematriac semantics" or "quantum parse syntax grammar."

:Pip:Argot of the family Kanata and of the Church Triumphant, an unworthy bastard

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Trueborn Orthodox Canadian Nationalist, Natural Person, Sovereign Patriot and Freeman of the Land

### PREAMBLE

"Civilization grew in the beginning from the minute *that* we had communication - particularly communication by sea that enabled people to get inspiration and ideas from each other and to exchange basic raw materials."

Thor Heyerdahl, Norwegian adventurer and ethnographer, notable for his Kon-Tiki expedition

Based on a genetic analysis of 52 modern Native American groups and 17 Siberian groups, researchers have concluded *the majority of Cainites descend from a single Siberian population* which crossed into the "Land of Nod" over the *Bering Strait land-bridge*. Arctic people who speak Eskimo-Aleut languages *also* inherited genetic material from *a second wave of mongoloid expatriates from Siberia*. Members of *a third Asiatic migration* contributed to the gene pool of Na-Dene-speaking Chipewyan of Canada.

Finding multiple migrations complements previous genetic, archaeological and linguistic studies. Of course, that doesn't mean there were only three migrations to the Americas. Researchers only looked at the ancestry of living Native Americans. There could be *early-migrating groups that didn't leave behind living descendants*. *That's something we may never know.*

*Paleolithic hunters and gatherers* of the *controversial proto-Solutrean Clovis Culture* (18,000-16,000 BCE) - a "*pre-Deluge*" *proto-Aryan Caucasoid population derived from the prehistoric culture of Western Europe* followed migratory horse, reindeer, mammoth/mastodon, saber tooth felines, rhinoceros (e.g. Biblical unicorn and bicorn), cave-bear and aurochs across the **North Atlantic Ocean** along the edge of pack ice that extended from the Atlantic coast of central and south-western France and parts of Iberia to North America during the **Last Glacial Maximum (LGM)** - during the last glacial period when global temperatures were significantly lower, sea levels were at their lowest, and ice sheets were at their greatest extension, covering much of North America, northern Europe, and Asia. Using survival skills similar to those of

modern Eskimos / Sámi (*Lapps*), the "stone age" progeny of the "**seven daughters of Eve**" became *the first human inhabitants of the Americas*. Using **mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA)** - *those maternal DNA codes passed between mother and daughter*, researchers have traced European populations back to several antediluvian genetically-related "clan mother" groups (cf. :Darcy-John:Bouchard, "*Genesis Explained*"). Archeological discoveries in the Plains and Southeast attest to this! but *an even-earlier tool technology* points to the **Western Stemmed Tradition** - said to be ancestors of "all" the indigenous cultures of North and South America: They are known for their distinctive spearheads.

In the year 458, **Hwui Shan** (also written as **Hoei Shin**, meaning "very intelligent in Chinese"), was a "**cha-men**" ("mendicant Buddhist priest"), from **Afghanistan** who first came to China as a very young missionary *about* 450 CE; he crossed the Pacific *in the company of four fellow priests* and landed on the west coast of this continent—which he described as the wonderful "**Land of Fusang**." the **Vinland of the West**. The period was one of great expansion for Buddhism, and extraordinary journeys made by "cha-men" on land and sea were not at all uncommon.

They sailed northeast of Japan to the **Land of Ta-Han** (i.e. the Kamchatka Peninsula in Siberia) and from there travelled 20,000 li (*about* 6600 miles) east to the **Land of Fusang**. This distance and direction suggest *that* they went by *a coasting, island-hopping route across the North Pacific*, past the Aleutian Islands to Alaska, and down the west coast of America as far as

California/Mexico. They, *apparently*, remained there for forty years, observing the country, its people, its customs, crafts, plants, and animals—and diffusing Buddhism among the inhabitants.

After he returned to China in the year 499, Hwui Shan appeared before the **Emperor Wu Ti**; *possibly* the first Oriental to have seen the West, he was then a very old man. Overcome with emotion and weeping, he presented the Emperor with gifts from the Land of Fusang and gave him a lengthy, detailed account of his travels.

The story of Hwui Shan, *however*, is unique in being the only actual record yet found that may be an historical account of such an East-West contact.

The “bold anchorite” **Saint Brendan the Navigator** of Clonfert, *an early Irish monastic* – and one of the *Twelve Apostles of Ireland*, is primarily renowned for his *legendary journey to the Isle of the Blessed*. He set out on the Atlantic Ocean with 16 monks (although other versions record 14 plus 3 unbelievers who joined in the last minute) to find the “*terra repromissionis sanctorum*” (“*Promised Land of the Saints*”), i.e., the *Paradisiacal Garden of Eden*. They, *thus*, crossed the ocean in a *currach-like boat of wattle*: (A “*currach*” is a type of Irish boat with a wooden frame, over which animal skins or hides were tanned in oak bark, softened with butter and stretched over “*wattle*” - a lightweight construction material made by weaving thin branches or slats between upright stakes to form a woven lattice). He and his small group of monks fasted for 40 days, and after a prayer on the shore - in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, set up a mast and a sail and embarked.

*But there is no reliable evidence to indicate that Brendan ever reached Greenland or the Americas.*

In 1003, **Thorvald Eiriksson** son of Erik the Red and brother of Leif Erikson had the first contact with the native “*skræling*” population. After capturing and killing eight of the natives, they were attacked at their beached ships, which they defended. Icelandic explorer **Thorfinn Karlsefni** son of Þórðr hesthöfði Snorrason son of Snorri son of Thord of Hofði ancestor of Ragnar Lodbrok followed his predecessors Thorvald and Leif Eriksson to **Vinland** (i.e. *the northernmost tip of the Great Northern Peninsula on the island of Newfoundland in the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador*). Skirmishes between Norsemen and the *mongoloid ancestors of the Beothuk* continued at L’Anse aux Meadows - the only certain site of a Norse or Viking settlement in North America. Despite everything the land had to offer there, they would be under constant threat of attack from the natives... so, they returned to Greenland. Discovered in 1960, it is the only certain site of a Norse or Viking settlement in North America.

This we remember as the **Battle of Vinland** (1003-1010).

One of the more popular legends of colonial America was that of **Prince Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd of Wales**. Madoc sailed west from Wales in 1170, *perhaps* becoming one of the first Europeans to reach the Americas. The story goes that the death Madoc’s father, **Prince Owen Gwynedd of Wales**, triggered internecine strife among his successors. Desiring no part in the conflict, Madoc sailed west across the ocean with a small fleet of ships. Some time later he returned to Wales, telling of an unknown country, pleasant and fertile. Convincing some of his countrymen to accompany him, he set sail again and never returned.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, renewed skirmishes erupted between the **Inuit on Baffin Island** and English sailors under **Privateer Sir Martin Frobisher**, who made three voyages to the New World looking for the **North-west Passage**. The **Meta Incognita Peninsula** (Latin: Unknown Shore) is located on southern Baffin Island in the Canadian territory of Nunavut, bounded by Hudson Strait to the west, and Frobisher Bay to the east.

### Early Voyages of Circumnavigation The Search of a Westward Route to Asia

**Christopher Columbus’ voyages to the West** (1492–1503) had the goal of reaching the Indies and to *establish direct commercial relations between Spain and the Asian kingdoms*. The Spanish soon realized that the *lands of the Americas were not a part of Asia*, but a new continent. The 1494 **Treaty of Tordesillas** reserved for Portugal the eastern routes that went around Africa. Two years later, in 1498, **Vasco da Gama, 1st Count of Vidigueira** son of *Estêvão da Gama, who had served in the 1460s as a knight of the household of Infante Ferdinand, Duke of Viseu* became *the first European to link Europe and Asia by an ocean route*, connecting the Atlantic and the Indian oceans and, *therefore*, the West and the Orient.

Da Gama’s discovery of the sea route to India was significant and opened the way for *an age of global imperialism* and for the Portuguese to establish a long-lasting colonial empire in Asia.

**Castile (Spain)** urgently needed to find *a new commercial route to Asia*. After the **Junta de Toro conference** of 1505, the Spanish Crown commissioned expeditions to discover a route to the west. Spanish explorer **Vasco Núñez de Balboa** son of *Nuño Arias de Balboa, a hidalgo (nobleman)*,

*and the Lady de Badajoz* was a Spanish explorer and conquistador and is best known for crossing the **Isthmus of Panama** in 1513, becoming *the first European to lead an expedition to have seen or reached the Pacific from the New World*.

And, 16<sup>th</sup> century navigator and explorer **Juan Díaz de Solís**, who was accused of the death of his wife, served as *a privateer in French fleets* for a short time, before *later serving the Spanish Crown*. In 1516, de Solís - *the first European to land on what is now modern day Uruguay* - followed the eastern coast of South America southward as far as the mouth of the **Río de la Plata River**... thereafter, along with two officers and seven men, sailing upriver to the confluence of the **Uruguay River** and **Paraná River**. The little party had not proceeded far when they were *attacked by local Indians* - evidence points towards it being the **Guarani people** who killed and ate him after disembarking. *Surviving crew members reported de Solís and most of the other men had been killed, thus putting the expedition to an end*. His brother-in-law, **Francisco de Torres**, took charge of the expedition’s ships and returned to Spain.

In September 1522, **Fernão de Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan)**<sup>1</sup> son of *Rodrigo de Magalhães, Alcaide-Mor of Aveiro (son of Pedro Afonso de Magalhães and wife Quinta de Sousa) and wife Alda de Mesquita and brother of Leonor or Genebra de Magalhães, wife with issue of João Fernandes Barbosa*, a skilled sailor and naval officer, was selected by **King Charles I of Spain** to search for *a westward route to the “Spice Islands.”* He was given

<sup>1</sup> By the *beginning of the Ming Dynasty*, China had reached *a peak of naval technology unsurpassed in the world* - Chinese shipbuilders *also* combined technologies they borrowed and adapted from seafarers of the South China seas and the Indian Ocean. For centuries, *China was the preeminent maritime power* in the region, with *advances in navigation, naval architecture, and propulsion*. From the 9<sup>th</sup> century on, the Chinese had taken *their magnetic compasses* aboard ships to use for navigating (two centuries before Europe). In addition to compasses, *Chinese could navigate by the stars* when skies were clear, *using printed manuals with star charts and compass bearings that had been available since the thirteenth century*. Star charts had been produced from at least the 11<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting China’s concern with heavenly events (unmatched until the Renaissance in Europe).

The **Mongols** controlled the **Silk Road routes** across Central Asia from roughly 1250-to-1350, and ruled China for much of that time; but the empire splintered into a number of smaller *khanates*, each ruled by a different *khan*. The resulting *anarchy and warfare on land encouraged traders to use sea routes* and later, by about 1400 CE, most long distance trade was moving by sea. Some of these ships were the largest marine craft the world had ever known: Over sixty of the three hundred seventeen ships on the first voyage of Chinese Imperial *eunuch Admiral Zheng He* (born Ma He\*) son of a minor official in the Mongol Empire whose ancestors were Persian Muslims were enormous “*Treasure Ships*” - sailing vessels over 400 hundred feet long, 160 feet wide, with several stories, nine masts and twelve sails, and luxurious staterooms complete with balconies, and were followed by almost 200 other ships of various sizes, carrying personnel, horses, grain, and 28,000 armed troops - for comparison, Christopher Columbus’ *Santa Maria* measured just 85 feet. The likes of these ships had never before been seen in the world, and it would not be until World War I that such an armada would be assembled again.

To satisfy growing Chinese demand for special spices, medicinal herbs, and raw materials, Chinese merchants cooperated with *Moslem and Indian traders* to develop a rich network of trade that reached beyond Southeast Asia to the fringes of the Indian Ocean. In the book “1421: *The Year China Discovered the World*” (published as “1421: *The Year China Discovered America*” in the United States), **Gavin Menzies**, a former British Navy submarine commander, concludes that “only China had the time, money, manpower, and leadership to send such expeditions” - and then sets out to prove that the Chinese visited lands unknown.

Zheng He led seven ocean expeditions for the Ming emperor that are unmatched in world history. Menzies claims that from 1421-to-1423, during the **Ming dynasty of China** under the **Yongle Emperor**, the fleets of **Zheng He** were commanded by the captains **Zhou Wen, Zhou Man, Yang Qing, and Hong Bao** - and they discovered Australia, New Zealand, the Americas, Antarctica, and the **Northeast Passage**; *circumnavigated Greenland*, tried to reach the North and South Poles, and *circumnavigated the world before Ferdinand Magellan*.

\* When **Ma He** was about 10 years of age, the Ming army invaded **Yunnan** to take it back from the Mongols and bring it under Ming control. The Ming soldiers killed Ma He’s father in the fighting and captured Ma He. As was customary with juvenile captives, *they castrated him by cutting off his testes and penis with a sword*. He survived this trauma and was handed over to be a servant in the household of the emperor’s fourth son, Zhu Di.

Growing up to be a burly, imposing man, over six feet tall with a chest contemporaries said measured over five feet around; he was *also* extremely talented and intelligent. He was sent to the capitol, where he received literary and military training, and made important allies at court in the process. When the emperor needed a trustworthy ambassador familiar with **Islam** and the ways of the south to head his splendid armada to the “Western Oceans,” he *naturally* picked the talented court eunuch, Ma He, whom he renamed Zheng.

command of *a fleet of five vessels* – and a crew of about 270 – mostly men of Spain – but including men from several nations (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Greece, England and France).

Sailing south through the Atlantic Ocean to *Patagonia*, passing through the *Strait of Magellan* into a body of water he named the “*peaceful sea*” (the modern *Pacific Ocean*). Despite *a series of storms and mutinies*, the expedition reached the Spice Islands in 1521 and returned home via the Indian Ocean to complete the first circumnavigation of the globe. Magellan did not complete the entire voyage, *though*, as he was killed during the *Batalla de Mactán* by *Lapu-Lapu*, who was the first Native to resist Imperial Spanish colonization. His surviving crewmen returned to Spain.

Competition in trade was becoming urgent, *especialy with Portugal*. **King Francis I of France** was *impelled by French merchants and financiers* from Lyon and Rouen to seek new trade routes [ ] so, in 1523-24, (although not formally commissioned) Florentine explorer **Giovanni da Verrazzano** son of *Piero Andrea di Bernardo da Verrazzano and Fiammetta Cappelli* was sent (on behalf of France) to find *a sea route to the Pacific Ocean* and explore *the eastern coast of North America* – an area between Florida and **Terranova** (the “*New Found Land*”). Within months, four ships set sail due west for the *Grand Banks of Newfoundland*, but *a violent storm and rough seas* caused the loss of two ships. The remaining two damaged ships, *La Dauphine* and *La Normande*, were forced to return to Brittany.

In 1534, two years after the *Duchy of Brittany* was *formally united with France* in the *Edict of Union*, **Jacques Cartier**<sup>2</sup> was introduced to **King Francis I** by *Jean Le Veneur, bishop of Saint-Malo and abbot of Mont Saint-Michel*. Le Veneur cited voyages to Newfoundland and Brazil as proof of Cartier’s ability to “lead ships to the discovery of new lands in the New World.” On April 20<sup>th</sup> Cartier set sail under a commission from the king to search for *a western passage to the wealthy markets of Asia*... and to “discover certain islands and lands where it is said that a great quantity of gold and other precious things are to be found.”

It took him *twenty days to sail across the ocean*. He explored parts of Newfoundland, areas that now comprise the Canadian Atlantic provinces and the Gulf of St-Lawrence.

Cartier’s first two encounters with aboriginal peoples in Canada on the north side of *Chaleur Bay*, *most likely the Mi’kmaq*, were brief – some trading occurred. His third encounter took place *on the shores of Gaspé Bay* (called *Honguedo* by the Natives) with a party of *St-Lawrence Iroquoians*, where on July 24<sup>th</sup> he planted a cross to claim the land for France.

Cartier returned to France in September 1534, sure that he had reached an Asian land.

## PROLEGOMENON

“Long Live the King of France”

*Nouveau France & the “Big River of Canada”*

Reaching the St-Lawrence, Cartier sailed up-river for the first time in July 1534, he and his men encountered two hundred people fishing *near Gaspé Bay* and reached the Iroquoian capital of *Stadacona* – *a village not far from where Québec City would be founded in 1608*, where-at **Agohanna Donnacona** ruled. Donnacona showed Cartier *five scalps taken in their warfare with the Toudaman*, a neighboring people who had recently attacked one of their forts the previous spring, killing 200 inhabitants.

Despite efforts by the people of the village, Cartier seized some inhabitants and their chief, but later released Donnacona, who agreed *that* his two sons, *Taignoagny* and *Domagaya*, to return with Cartier to France for a year, under the condition that they return with European goods to trade.

*Cartier returned to Stadacona with Chief Donnacona’s sons on his next voyage in 1535–1536, whence he recorded a word they used to refer to their home:*

“They call a town, **Kanata** (Canada).”

**Jacques Cartier** set sail for a second voyage on May 19<sup>th</sup> of the following year with three ships, 110 men, and his *two Iroquoian captives*.

Cartier left his main ships in a harbour close to Stadacona, and *used his smallest ship to continue on to Hochelaga* (now *Montréal*), arriving on 2

October 1535. **Hochelaga** was far more impressive than the small and squalid *village of Stadacona*, and a crowd of *over a thousand came to the river edge to greet the Frenchmen*. The site of their arrival has been identified as *the beginning of Sault Ste-Marie—where the bridge named after him now stands*. The expedition could proceed no further, as *the river was blocked by rapids*. So certain was Cartier *that* the river was the **North-West Passage** and *that the rapids were all that was preventing him from sailing to China*, that the rapids and the town which *eventually* grew up near them came to be named after the French word for China, **La Chine**: the *Lachine Rapids* and *the town of Lachine*, Québec.

After spending *two days among the people of Hochelaga*, Cartier returned to Stadacona on October 11<sup>th</sup>. It is not known exactly when he decided to spend the winter of 1535–1536 in Stadacona... in any event it was *too late by then to return to France*. Cartier and his men prepared for the winter by *strengthening their fort, stacking firewood, and salting down game and fish*.

From mid-November 1535 to mid-April 1536, *the French fleet lay frozen solid at the mouth of the St-Charles River, under the Rock of Québec. Ice was over a fathom (1.8 m) thick on the river, with snow four feet (1.2 m) deep* ashore. To add to the misery, *scurvy broke out*—first among the Iroquoians, and then among the French; but Cartier and his crew were *effectively saved by the Stadaconans* whence, on a visit to the French fort by *Domagaya son of Donnacona*, Cartier inquired and learned from him of *a cure for scurvy* – which had *already killed a quarter of Cartier’s crew* – *a vitamin-rich broth made from a tree* known as *annedda*, probably *Spruce beer*, or *arbor vitae* (v.i.). This remedy likely saved the expedition from destruction, allowing 85 Frenchmen to survive the winter.

“Out of 110 that we were, not ten were well enough to help the others, a pitiful thing to see.”

Cartier journal entry, mid-February

The Frenchmen used up the bark of an entire tree in a week on the cure, and the dramatic results prompted Cartier to proclaim it “a Godsend” and “a miracle.” The same winter, *more than 50 Iroquois of the village died from diseases carried by the Europeans*. Ready to return to France in early-May 1536, Cartier decided to kidnap *Chief Donnacona*, his sons, and seven other inhabitants, so *that* the Natives might personally tell the tale of a legendary Iroquoian country of blond men further north, called the “**Kingdom of Saguenay**” (French: “*Royaume du Saguenay*”)<sup>3</sup> said to be *rich in furs and other treasures and full of great mines of silver, gold and rubies*. Thus, he took them back to France. Donnacona was treated well in France, and looked after at the king’s expense; but, in 1539, he died there... in fact, all but one of the other Iroquoians died, a little girl whose fate is unknown..

After an arduous trip down the St-Lawrence and a three-week Atlantic crossing, Cartier and his men arrived in St-Malo on 15 July 1536, concluding the second, 14-month voyage, which was to be Cartier’s most profitable.

“As false as Canadian diamonds”

On 17 October 1540, Francis ordered Cartier to return to Canada to lend weight to a colonization project of which he would be “*captain general*.” However, on 15 January 1541, Cartier was supplanted by **Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval**,<sup>4</sup> a Huguenot nobleman and adventurer and *friend*

<sup>3</sup> Today, typically understood to be an *entirely mythical* European misunderstanding (or made up), or an Iroquoian attempt to trick or confuse the French. However, some people have speculated it was *an ancient, pre-Columbian European settlement* to which the Iroquoian oral tradition referred, such as the Norse settlement at *L’Anse aux Meadows*... or of the tribe of “*White Indians*,” remarkable for their *light hair and blue-grey eyes*, which was rumoured to have long ago resided in the area of the *Falls of Ohio*. However, hostilities broke out between the “White Indians” and another neighboring Indian group. A final battle between the two tribes occurred on Sand Island at the Falls where the “White Indians” were massacred. Moreover, it has been proposed that *interbreeding with Norse survivors* might explain the “blond” Indians among the *Mandan on the Upper Missouri River*. Furthermore, **Mormons** believe *that* Native Americans (i.e. Lamanites) descended from Israelites who traveled by boat to North America in 600 BCE. (Nothing in the *Book of Mormon* precludes migration into the Americas by peoples of Asiatic origin.)

<sup>4</sup> Roberval was an early convert to Calvinism, that is, a French Protestant or Huguenot, and as such risked persecution from the Catholic Church. In 1535 he escaped hanging as a Protestant only by the intervention of the King. He was assassinated in 1560 in Paris along with fellow Protestants after leaving a Calvinist meeting near the *Cimetière des Innocents*.\*

\* The *Holy Innocents’ Cemetery* was a defunct cemetery in Paris that was used from the Middle Ages until the late-18<sup>th</sup> century; it was the oldest and largest cemetery in Paris and had often been used for mass graves; it was closed because of overuse in 1780, and

<sup>2</sup> **Jacques Cartier** (Breton: *Jakez Karter*), who was a respectable mariner, improved his social status in 1520 by marrying *Mary Catherine des Granches* of a leading family. He was the *first European to describe and map the Gulf of St-Lawrence and the shores of the St-Lawrence River*, which he named “*The Country of Canadas*,” after the Iroquois names for the two big settlements at *Stadacona* (*Québec City*) and at *Hochelaga* (*Montreal Island*).

*of the king* - in addition to soldiering together in *the Italian campaigns*, they hunted on the Roberval estates. On return from the wars, he led the expensive life of a courtier, and borrowed heavily on his estates. This was a debt that would encourage his adventurism throughout his life.

Named as the *first lieutenant general of French Canada*, Roberval was given a *commission to settle the province of Canada* and provide for the spread of the “*Holy Catholic faith*.” The King provided some funds for this expedition and three ships, the *Valentine*, the *Anne* and the *Lechefraye*. Cartier, to whom the King had first given this commission on the basis of his previous two voyages to Canada, was hired as *Chief Navigator*. While Roberval waited for artillery and supplies, he gave permission to Cartier to sail on ahead with his ships. Cartier did so in May 1541.

He sailed few kilometers up the *St-Lawrence River* at a spot he had previously observed, where-at his 500 colonists (and convicts) were landed, the cattle that had survived three months aboard ship were turned loose, earth was broken for a kitchen garden, and seeds of cabbage, turnip, and lettuce were planted. Twas there-at he oversaw the building of a fortified settlement, *Charlesbourg-Royal*, which was located at the confluence of the *Rivière du Cap Rouge*, near the Iroquois settlement of *Stadacona*. Another fort was also built on the cliff overlooking the settlement, for added protection.

Roberval with his three ships and 200 colonists set sail in April 1542, arriving June 8<sup>th</sup>. Cartier, impatient to show the king the “*gold and diamonds*” his men had collected (which were nothing more than *quartz* and some *iron pyrites*, respectively)—giving rise to a French expression: “*aux comme les diamants du Canada*”—two of the ships were sent on their journey home with some of these minerals on September 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Having set tasks for everyone, Cartier left with the longboats for a reconnaissance in search of “*Saguenay*” on September 7<sup>th</sup>. Having reached *Hochelaga*, he was prevented by bad weather and the numerous rapids from continuing up to the *Ottawa River*.

Returning to Charlesbourg-Royal, Cartier found the situation ominous. The Iroquoians no longer made friendly visits or peddled fish and game, but prowled about in a sinister manner. No records exist about the winter of 1541–1542 and those few details we have were gleaned from the returning sailors: It seems the natives attacked and killed about 35 settlers before the Frenchmen could retreat behind their fortifications. Even though *scurvy* was cured through the native remedy *Thuja occidentalis infusion* also known as *eastern arborvitae* (v.s.), the impression left is of a general misery, and of Cartier’s growing conviction that he had insufficient manpower either to protect his base or to go in search of the Saguenay Kingdom.

Cartier left for France in early-June 1542, encountering Roberval and his ships along the Newfoundland coast. Despite Roberval’s insistence that he accompany him back to Saguenay, Cartier promptly slipped off under the cover of darkness and continued on to France with his military detachment and some discouraged colonists. He arrived there in October, in what proved to be his last voyage.

Having some good maps from Cartier, the Roberval team sailed easily up the St-Lawrence River to Charlesbourg-Royal – which he renamed *France-Roi*; but it was abandoned in 1543 after disease, foul weather and hostile natives drove the would-be settlers to despair. *The village was abandoned and destroyed by an unknown enemy*, likely due to *devastating wars by the Mohawk of the Iroquois or Haudenosaunee confederacy (Five Nations)* (v.i.). Only a few decades after the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier, the establishment of *Nouveau France* began. [No permanent European settlements were made in Canada before 1605, when *Samuel de Champlain* founded *Port Royal*. Champlain later chose the location of Cartier’s village to establish the colony of *l’Habitation*, which would eventually grow into the city of *Québec*.]

### Legend of Mme. La Rocque and the Isle of Demons

En route, Roberval abandoned Marguerite de La Rocque,<sup>5</sup> who was still young and unmarried, with her lover on the “*Isle of Demons*,” off the coast of

<sup>5</sup> in 1786 the remaining corpses were exhumed and transported to the unused subterranean quarries near Montparnasse known as the *Catacombs*.

The exact relationship remains unclear. André Thevet claimed Roberval was her uncle, while François de Belleforest indicated they were brother and sister. Historian Elizabeth Boyer suggests they were in fact cousins. She became well known after her subsequent rescue and return to France; her story was recounted in the *Heptaméron* by *Queen Marguerite of Navarre*, and in later histories.

Marguerite achieved some celebrity when her story became known. She became a schoolmistress, and settled in Nontron, living in Chateau de La Mothé. There is no record of any action or charges brought by her against Roberval.

Québec near *St-Paul River*, as punishment for their affair. During the journey, they had become lovers... and, displeased with his young relative’s actions, possibly motivated by his strong Calvinist morals - it is likely he was also driven by financial greed, since his debts were high, and Marguerite’s death would be to his benefit – they were marooned. Her maid-servant *Damienne* opted to remain with her.

Marguerite gave birth to a child while on the island. The baby died, as did the young man and the maid servant; but Marguerite survived to be rescued by Basque fishermen and returned to France some years later.

Roberval’s settlement lasted less than two years due to the severe winter, scurvy, and attacks by the St-Lawrence Iroquoians, who had been displeased with the French in the recent past (since or before 1534), not least because of Cartier’s treatment of Donnacona. In 1543 a relief expedition arrived from France and Roberval decided to repatriate his little colony to France. *Taking his disappointment at the failed Canadian venture and his ships, Roberval took up the life of a corsair and went pirating (privateering), this time in the Caribbean against Spanish ships and towns, since France and Spain were at war.*

### Tadoussac

**Fishermen from Normandy, Brittany, the Basque country**, who came ashore in *Acadia* during the summer months to dry their fish, found that they could carry on *profitable trade with the Indians*, exchanging axes, knives, pots and cloth for furs. In that epoch, only the rich men in Paris could afford a beaver robe, which could be bartered for an axe or a knife. With such profits possible, *many fishermen and their backers turned to the fur trade*, which was not only far more profitable but also easier to carry out. Such a lucrative trade also attracted the attention of some *gentlemen of the court* who had influence with the king. The king had *the power to grant monopolies*, the sole right to trade in certain commodities, but the monopolies were granted in return for *favours rendered to the crown of France*.

Sieur **François Gragé Du Pont (ou Pontgragé)**, from the great seaport of St-Malo on the coast of Normandy, was a French navigator (captain on the sea and on the “*Big River of Canada*”) and an early fur trader and explorer in the New World. He is known to have traded furs in the Nouveau France, since maybe 1580, surely before 1599, reaching *Trois-Rivières* in that year.

In 1583, **Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnetuit**, a captain of the French Royal Navy of a *wealthy merchant family* was serving under Admiral **François Aymar (or Aimar) de Cleremont de Chaste**,<sup>6</sup> In 1589 Chauvin was made *captain of the important Huguenot garrison at Honfleur*. By 1596, Chauvin had developed *an interest in commercial and maritime enterprises*. He now owned four vessels: The *Don-de-Dieu*, the *Espérance*, the *Bon-Espoir*, and the *St-Jean* - and he was regularly engaged in the *North American fur trade and cod-fishery of Canada and Newfoundland*.

A Calvinist, **Chauvin** had given illustrious service in *the wars against the League*, and was soon rewarded with a position of influence in the new king’s court. Chauvin, along with **Pontgragé**, obtained a fur trading monopoly for

<sup>6</sup> **Aymar de Chaste** was a Catholic, French admiral during the **Franco-Spanish Wars** between 1582-and-1598. He served as *governor of Dieppe and Arques-la-Bataille as well as the French ambassador to England* during mid-to-late-16<sup>th</sup> century. As *vice admiral*, Chaste commanded the *French-Portuguese naval forces* supporting an attempt by *António, Prior of Crato* a grandson of King Manuel I of Portugal and claimant of the Portuguese throne during the 1580 dynastic crisis to defend the *Azores*\* from Spain to use as a staging point to liberate Portugal. However, he was defeated by Spanish admiral *Álvaro de Bazán, 1st Marquess of Santa Cruz de Mudela* GE, KOS at the *Battle of Terceira*† in 1583: (According to Spanish sources, de Bazán was never defeated, a remarkable achievement in a fifty-year long career).

After agreeing to command an expedition to the St-Lawrence River with former officers *Pierre Dugua, Sieur de Mons, François Gragé Du Pont* and *Samuel de Champlain*, de Chaste was *appointed Viceroy of Canada by King Henry IV* on 6 February 1602. Chaste would preside over Nouveau France as *lieutenant governor*, later forming the “*Canada and Acadia Trading Company*,” which would eventually establish French domination of the North American fur trade for more than a decade, overseeing the company until his death in 1603, shortly before this first expedition return to France.

\* The **Azores**, officially the *Autonomous Region of the Azores*, is one of the two autonomous regions of Portugal - along with *Madeira*, it forms an archipelago composed of nine volcanic islands in the North Atlantic Ocean about 1360 km west of continental Portugal, about 1,643 km west of Lisbon, in continental Portugal, about 1,507 km northwest of Morocco, and about 1,925 km southeast of Newfoundland, Canada.

† The naval *Battle of Ponta Delgada, Battle of São Miguel* or specifically the *Battle of Vila Franca do Campo* took place on 26 July 1582, off the coast of the island of São Miguel in the *Portuguese archipelago of the Azores*, during the *War of the Portuguese Succession*.



Nouveau France from **Henri IV**. In 1599 they founded **Tadoussac**,<sup>7</sup> which became the center of fur trade between the French and First Nations peoples - and it remained the only seaport on the St-Lawrence River for 30 years. **Pontgravé** would have liked to go farther up the river, but his partner refused to do any exploring.

Chauvin embarked from Honfleur in the early spring of 1600, with his four ships and the intended colonists, Gravé as his partner and lieutenant, **Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Mons**. Against the advice of Pontgravé, Chauvin chose Tadoussac as his destination. Basque and Norman whalers were already using Tadoussac as a stopping point. It was strategically situated to profit from its location - on the shore at the mouth of the **Saguenay River** at its confluence with the St-Lawrence, with a harbour adjacent.

Tadoussac had long been *a Montagnais summering place for barter* and for half a century *a fur-trading and fishing resort for Europeans*. But with the arms they had received in trade, the Montagnais hadst ousted the Iroquois from the region; they were soon to be visited by *a revenge of equal horror*, and driven far into the interior. Tadoussac was to suffer, too; and as allies of the Montagnais, and soon of the Algonquins and Hurons *as well* - all enemies of the Iroquois - the French and their fur trade were distressed for many years. The area was ill-fitted for settlement because of the rugged terrain and poor soil, and because of the cold in winter.

The frontier was harsh and only sixteen of the initial 50 settlers survived the first winter. *The foundation of Tadoussac in 1599 marks one of the first steps of the French establishment in America. The St-Lawrence Iroquoians, who inhabited the St-Lawrence valley upriver to the west, were defeated and pushed out by the Mohawk before the early 17th century. Competition over the fur trade increased among the nations... and, in the 17th century, after Acadia and Québec were colonized, the French and Iroquois Beaver Wars erupted - intermittent conflicts lasting well into the 18th century.*

### Virginia Dare & the Lost Roanoke Colony

In the late-16th century *efforts to establish an English colony in the New World* began to gain momentum. **Queen Elizabeth I** was looking for places to colonize... and *the Americas appeared ripe for English expansion*. The **Roanoke Colony** was the first attempt at founding a permanent English settlement in North America.

On 25 March 1584, Queen Elizabeth granted **Sir Walter Raleigh** a royal charter authorizing him to explore, colonize and rule any *“remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or inhabited by Christian People,”* in return for one-fifth of all the gold and silver that might be mined there. This charter specified *that Raleigh had seven years in which to establish a settlement*, or else lose his right to do so. Raleigh and Elizabeth intended *that the venture should provide riches from the New World and a base from which to send privateers on raids against the treasure fleets of Spain*. The queen's charter also said *that Raleigh was supposed to establish a military base from which to send privateers on raids against the treasure fleets of Spain*. The purpose of these raids was *to counteract the activities of the Spaniards and to in make Spain aware that England was ready for war*.

Raleigh himself never visited North America (*n.b.*).

Raleigh dispatched **Philip Amadas** and **Arthur Barlowe** *on the first of a number of expeditions to explore and settle the New World*. On 27 April 1584, they sailed down to the **Canary Islands** and then on to the **West Indies**, where they stopped briefly for food and water before sailing north *along the eastern coast of Florida*. After eleven days they came to shallow water and smelled “so

sweet, and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden,” indicating that land was nearby. Two days later, on July 4<sup>th</sup>, they saw the coast and continued to sail for 120 miles until they could find an entrance or river going in from the sea. They arrived at **Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina, thence known as Virginia** - a place where “in all the world the like abundance is not to be found....”

Barlowe and his crew were met by *a large group of the Secotan tribe*, led by their king's brother **Granganimeo**. Their king **Wingina**—later called **Pemisapan**—was the first North American Indian leader to be confronted by English settlers in the New World: He was *wereoance*<sup>8</sup> (principal chief, king) of the **Secotan (Roanoke) Indians** was unable to be there because of a leg wound sustained during a battle with a neighboring tribe. Several of the natives accompanied them as they sailed north to Roanoke Island. There they found *a Secotan village*, where they were treated with great hospitality and generosity, quickly establishing friendly relations with the local natives, both the **Secotans** and **Croatans** - peoples which were “gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age.”

The small coastal tribe of Croatans befriended the English despite *difficulties in communication*, notwithstanding, the explorers persuaded “two of the savages, being lustie men, whose names were *Wanchese and Manteo*” to accompany Barlowe *on a return voyage to London* - to report first-hand on what political and geographical usefulness the territory might be to the English people - and to improve their English language skills in order to *report*, both, on the conditions of the New World and... *also to gain an understanding of the Anglican Christian faith*.

Once safely delivered to England in September 1584, both Indians caused a sensation at court. They were hosted at Raleigh's London residence [ ] but unlike Manteo, **Wanchese (Wan-Keece)** evinced little interest in learning English, and did not befriend his hosts, remaining *suspicious of English motives* in the New World. He soon considered himself as a captive of the English rather than as their guest.

Raleigh's priority, *however*, was not publicity but rather intelligence about *his new land of Virginia*, and *he restricted access to the exotic newcomers*. He assigned the scientist **Thomas Harriot** with the job of deciphering and learning the **Carolina Algonquian language**, using *a phonetic alphabet of his own invention* in order to effect the translation. Manteo was far more co-operative than Wanchese and, by Christmas of 1584, Harriot *had* learned to converse in the Algonquin language with the two Croatans. Harriot and Manteo spent many days in one another's company; he interrogated Manteo closely about life in the New World and learned much that was to the advantage of the English settlers. In addition, he recorded the sense of awe with which the savages viewed European technology:

“Many things they sawe with us... as mathematical instruments, sea compasses... [and] spring clocks that seemed to goe of themselves - and many other things we had - were so strange unto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than men.”

Based on the information given by Manteo and Wanchese, Raleigh organized a second expedition to the New World in April 1585, led by **Sir Richard Grenville** *eldest son and heir of Sir Roger Grenville (son of Sir Roger, Sherriff of Cornwall and Devon son of Sir Roger, Sherriff of Cornwall and Devon and his wife Margaret Whitleigh) and Thomasine Cole (daughter of Thomas Cole of*

<sup>8</sup> **Wereoance** is an Algonquian word meaning “leader” or “commander” among the **Powhatan Confederacy of the Virginia coast and Chesapeake Bay region**. Wereoances were under *a paramount chief, or mamanatowick*. When the English arrived in Virginia, some of the wereoances subject to chief **Wahunsenacawh**, called **Powhatan (q.v.)** were his own nearest male relatives. Paramount chiefs let their *district and subordinate wereoances* make the final decision on how to handle any hostile situation. This was made apparent with the events that took place in 1607 and the hostility with the new comers (English settlers).

Wereoances and “priests” were the only ones allowed to enter into religious temples. A wereoance did not go to meet any visitor; visitors were escorted to see a wereoance. Moreover, the wereoance, their wives, and councilors *often* dressed in the finest jewels, and tanned deer skin.

**Opchanacanough (q.v.)**, Chief Powhatan's younger brother, was a wereoance of the **Pamunkey**, but increased in power, and came to be the effective ruler of the entire Powhatan Confederacy after his brother's death in 1618.

Furthermore, in Powhatan society, *women could inherit power*, because the *inheritance of power was matrilineal*:

“His [Chief Powhatan's] kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children: but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3 namely Opitchapam, Opchanacanough, and Catataugh; and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister; but never to the heires of the males.”

John Smith of Jamestown, “A Map of Virginia”

<sup>7</sup> **Jacques Cartier** came to the site in 1535 during his second voyage. He found **Innu people** (popularly known since the French colonial era as **Montagnais**) using it as a base for hunting seal. Later that same century, **Basques** from Spain conducted **whaling expeditions** on the river. Colonists from the Tadoussac area were involved in whaling from 1632 until *at least* the end of the century.

The **Norsemen** referred to the peoples they encountered in North America and Greenland as **skrælingjar** in *Greenlandic Norse*. In surviving sources, it is first applied to the **Thule people** - the proto-Inuit group with whom the Norse coexisted in Greenland after about the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the sagas, it is *also* used for the peoples of the region known as **Vinland** whom the Norse encountered during their expeditions there in the early-11<sup>th</sup> century. They referred to **Nitassinan (the territory covers the eastern portion of the Labrador Peninsula)** as **Markland** - one of three lands on North America's Atlantic shore discovered by **Leif Eriksson** around 1000 AD. It was located south of **Helluland** and north of **Vinland**).

The **ancestors of the Innu** were known to have lived on these lands for several thousand years as **hunter-gatherers**. They used portable tents made of animal skins. Their **subsistence activities** were historically centered on hunting and trapping caribou, moose, deer, and small game. Some coastal clans *also* practiced agriculture, fished, and managed **maple sugarbush**.

*Slade*) – and cousin of Raleigh, soldier, armed merchant and fleet owner, “South Sea” (i.e. Pacific Ocean) privateer and explorer, who was captain of the *Mary Rose* when it sank in Portsmouth Harbour in 1545. Grenville was made *admiral of the seven-strong fleet which brought English settlers to establish a military colony on Roanoke Island*. The expedition was led by English explorer *Sir Ralph Lane*, and was accompanied by *Harriot*, who, being the only Englishman having learnt Algonquin prior to the voyage, was *therefore* vital to the success of the expedition; he was to act as translator between the local tribes and the English settlers. *Harriot made only this one expedition and, wouldst spend some time in the New World visiting Roanoke Island, expanding his knowledge of and improving his understanding of the Carolina Algonquin language.*

Harriot smoked *tobacco* before Raleigh, and may have taught him to do so.

The voyage began on 9 April 1585: The fleet comprised five ships: the *Tiger* (Grenville’s ship), the *Roebuck*, the *Red Lion*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Dorothy*. The voyage on the *Tiger* proved difficult, as Lane quarreled with the aggressive leadership of Grenville, whom he found a person of “intolerable pride and insatiable ambition.” Unfortunately, during a *severe storm* off the coast of Portugal, the *Tiger* was separated from the rest of the fleet... *finally*, after just 21 days, Grenville and his companions reached the warm waters of the Caribbean, arriving at *Baye’s Muskito* (Guayanilla, Puerto Rico) on May 11<sup>th</sup>.

The captains had a contingency plan if they were separated, which was to meet up in Puerto Rico. While waiting there for the other ships, Grenville established relations with the Spanish (whilst at the same time participating in *privateering* against their ships) and *also* built a small fortress - *its location is now unknown*. The *Elizabeth* arrived shortly after construction of the fortress.

Grenville tired of waiting for the remaining ships, abandoned his fort and departed on June 7<sup>th</sup>. When, on June 26<sup>th</sup>, the *Tiger* sailed through the *Ocracoke Inlet* - *an estuary located on the Outer Banks of North Carolina*, she ran aground on a shoal, ruining most of the food supply. The expedition managed to repair the ship, and in early-July met the *Roebuck* and *Dorothy*, which had arrived a few weeks earlier. The *Red Lion* had accompanied them, but *simply* landed its passengers and *thence* sailed on to Newfoundland for *privateering*.

It was too late in the year to plant crops and harvest food. Manteo, *though*, helped the colonists make it through the harsh winter. In fact, he was essential to English-Native American communications during those early voyages to and explorations of the New World organized by Raleigh. The relationship that Manteo shared with the English serves as an *early example of positive racial and cultural relations in North America* and *also* as *a unique example of race relations within the context of Western Civilization*. Manteo was a *trusted friend, teacher, and guide* to the English settlers while remaining *loyal* to his native people during early American history, when English and Native American relations were highly unstable - and is one of the foremost examples of positive race relations in early American history.

Manteo was useful to the English people in several ways: He served as a guide and translator to the English. He and the English people were able to learn about each other’s language and culture, and, at times, he was *also* a mediating figure between the English people and the Indians. Because of his status among the English people, *though*, and because he was in peaceful communication with them, *some of the Croatan considered Manteo to be disloyal to them and a traitor* at times of conflict. *Wanchese* was the last known ruler of the Croatan people.

After an initial exploration of the continental coast and its Native settlements, Grenville accused *the Secotan of one Aquascogoc village of stealing a silver cup*... and, in retaliation, reacted to sack and burn the entire village of Aquascogoc. Despite this incident and the shortage of food, Lane and 107 other settlers were left on the north end of Roanoke Island to establish a colony. They built a small fort, *probably* similar to the one at Guayanilla Bay. Contact was quickly made with the local Indians; but, the English treated them with suspicious harshness; on several occasions the colonists kidnapped Indians to extort supplies or extract information.

On 17 August 1585, Grenville, departed aboard the *Tiger* [ ] and, on the seventh day of sail, captured (after a three-day battle) *a rich Spanish galleon, Santa Maria de San Vicente*, off *Bermuda* which he took with him as a prize back to England.

In June, *the incident of the stolen cup led to a retaliatory attack* against the fort which the settlers were able to repel. *Sir Francis Drake* arrived at Roanoke in that same month offering Lane and his men *a return voyage to England*, which Lane readily accepted because of a weakened food supply and increased tensions with local tribes. The Grenville relief fleet arrived shortly after Drake’s departure with the settlers. Finding the colony abandoned, Grenville and his crew returned to England with the bulk of his force, leaving behind *fifteen battle-hardened soldiers* and promising to return in April 1586 with more men and fresh supplies.

Drake’s fleet reached Portsmouth on July 28<sup>th</sup>, at which the settlers of Roanoke introduced *snuff, corn, and potatoes* to England.

Upon their return, this second colony at Roanoke set about repairing the structures left behind. They *also* searched for *the fifteen men left behind by the previous expedition*... but found only *bones*. Thus, though things went well initially, from an early stage, there were *tensions with the local Algonkins*.. White quickly made contact with friendly natives led by Chief Manteo, who explained to him *that the lost fifteen had been killed by hostile Secotan, Aquascogoc and Dasamongueponke (Dasamonguepeuk) warriors*.

As a mediator between the English and the Indians, and due to his loyalty to the English people, Manteo was caught in the middle. He had mixed feelings about the attack and understood the points of views of both sides; nonetheless, he informed the English *that* some of their men were killed. To seek *revenge*, the English attempted to plot an attack on the Roanoke, whom they believed had killed the Englishmen. On August 8<sup>th</sup> White led *a dawn attack on the Dasamongueponkes that went disastrously wrong*. White and his soldiers entered their village in the morning “so early that it was yet dark,” but *attacked a group of hitherto friendly Indians*, killing one and wounding several Croatan people by mistake including Manteo’s mother, who was leader of the Croatan natives. Henceforth relations with the local tribes steadily deteriorated.

After *Lane’s colonists returned to England in 1586*, Raleigh, who held the land patent for the proposed English colony of Virginia, tasked White with the job of organizing *a new settlement in the Chesapeake Bay area*, one which would be self-sustaining and which would include women and children.

During 1586 White was able to persuade 113 *prospective colonists* to join Raleigh’s expedition, two of whom were *pregnant women* and several of which were *parents with young children*, including White’s daughter Elynor and his son-in-law Ananias Dare (q.v.). *Some folk believe that Elynor Dare and the other members of the Roanoke Colony were Separatists who left England at a time when the political climate in England was dangerous for such religious dissidents. This might be why the colonists, were willing to undertake the dangerous journey to Roanoke Island with low supplies and at a time England was on the verge of war with Spain.*

His efforts did not go unrewarded, for; on 7 January 1587, Raleigh named “John White of London Gentleman, to be the chief Governor” of the new colony. White, with thirteen others were incorporated under the name of “The Governor and Assistants of the Cities of Raleigh of Virginia.” They were ordered to stop at Roanoke to pick up the small contingent left there by Grenville the previous year, but when they arrived on 22 July 1587, they found nothing except a skeleton that may have been the remains of one of the English garrison.

*Simão Fernandes* was a 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese-born navigator who had piloted the 1585 (and, *later*, in 1587) English expeditions to found colonies on Roanoke Island. Fernandes was *the alleged murderer of seven Portuguese sailors* - an offence of piracy punishable by hanging - *however*, far from being hanged for his crimes, *he* was released, *apparently* with the connivance of Queen Elizabeth’s spymaster *Sir Francis Walsingham*, who appears to have been well aware of *the Portuguese navigator’s potential usefulness in challenging the Spanish trade monopoly in the New World*. He was certainly likely to have had more experience navigating the Indies than almost any man in England, making him a unique asset to the early English voyages of discovery in the New World.

White and Fernandes evidently disliked one another; White argued with his pilot, accusing the Portuguese of many outrages against the interests of the settlers, including “lewdly” abandoning the expedition’s flyboat (*a light vessel displacing between 70 and 200 tons*) in the course of the voyage.

After his stay in England, Manteo was among those colonists which had sailed for the New World along with *Governor John White* and, in late-July, founded the ill-fated *Roanooc Colony of Dare County (on the Outer Banks of North Carolina)*– the settlers *included women and children*.. On Sunday, 13 August 1587, *Chief Manteo was christened (on Roanoke Island)* - making him *the first savage to be baptized into the Anglican Church of England*: This was *a political maneuver to assist in converting other savages to Christianity* as well.

*Upon conversion, Chief Manteo retained his given name, being granted the title of baron, the Lord of Roanoke and Dasamongueponke - the first peer created by the English in North America.*

The settlers’ chosen destination was not Roanoke but *Chesapeake Bay*, but, upon reaching Roanoke, Fernandes allowed the colonists to disembark, but [ ] refused to let White’s men re-board ship, insisting *that* they establish the new colony on Roanoke. Faced with what amounted to a *mutiny* by his navigator, White appears to have backed down and acquiesced in this sudden change of plan for landing the colonists in the wrong spot - it may be that Fernandes was prompted by his desire (and that of his crew) to return to the West Indies to pursue *opportunities for privateering against Spanish shipping*. Whatever the truth of this, the fiasco of 1587 appears to have ended Fernandes’ relationship

with Raleigh. He participated in no further ventures across the Atlantic, though he did take part in the battle against the **Spanish Armada**.

Shortly thereafter, colonist **George Howe** was killed by a native while searching alone for crabs in *Albemarle Sound* - a large estuary on the coast of North Carolina in the United States located at the confluence of a group of rivers, including the Chowan and Roanoke.

### Virginia Dare

On 18 August 1587, there was happier news – White became a grandfather. **“Elenora, daughter to the governour and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke.”** The child was healthy and “was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia.”

**Virginia Dare** daughter of Elyonor White (daughter of Governor John White) and Ananias Dare, a London tiler and bricklayer was the first English child born in a New World English overseas possession, and was named after the territory of Virginia, her birthplace.

### Virginia Dare & the Lost Roanoke Colony (continued)

However, the colonists’ *food supplies soon began to grow short*, and in late-1587, the *settlers pressed White to return to England* “for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessities.” Because the colony had been deposited in Roanoke rather than the Chesapeake area, as planned, supply ships from England ignorant of Fernandes’ change of plan would most likely not land in Roanoke at all, and *the settlement might not survive the coming winter*.

The colonists, including the women, signed a *petition* urging White to return to England for supplies, even though *he was reluctant to abandon his colony and leave his daughter and granddaughter*. Moreover, he was anxious *that his enemies in England “would not spare to slander [him] falsely”* should he leave, and worried that his “stuff and goods might be spoiled and most of it pilfered away.” Eventually, in late-1587, the colonists agreed to stand surety for White’s belongings and he was prevailed upon to sail, “much against his will,” to seek help.

Misfortune struck White’s return to England from the beginning. The anchor of the flyboat on which White was quartered could not be raised, and many crew members were severely injured during the attempt. Worse, their journey home was delayed by “scarce and variable winds” followed by “a storm at the north-east,” and many sailors starved or died of scurvy. On 16 October 1587 the desperate crew at last landed in *Smewicke in the west of Ireland*, and White was finally able to make his way back to England.

Further *bad news awaited* White on his return: Just two weeks previously **Queen Elizabeth I** had issued a general “stay of shipping,” *preventing any ships from leaving English shores*. The reason was the “invincible fleets made by the King of Spain, joyned with the power of the Pope, for the invading of England” (meaning the Spanish Armada). White’s patron **Sir Walter Raleigh** attempted to provide ships to rescue the colony but he was over-ruled by the Queen.

A *second delay* came after White’s small fleet set sail for Roanoke and his crew insisted on sailing first towards Cuba in hopes of capturing treasure-laden Spanish merchant ships. Enormous riches had been described by their pilot, an experienced Portuguese navigator hired by Raleigh, outweighing White’s objections to the delay.

In early-1588 White was able to scrape together a pair of small pinnaces, the **Brave** and the **Roe**, which were *unsuitable for military service* and could be spared for the expedition to Roanoke. Unluckily for White, *they were barely suited for the Atlantic crossing* and the governor endured further bad luck as *the ships were intercepted by French pirates*, who “playd extreemely upon us with their shot,” hitting White (to his great embarrassment) “in the side of the buttoke.” White and his crew escaped to England with their lives, but “they robbed us of all our victuals, powder, weapons and provision,” and *the journey to Virginia was abandoned*. By this stage White appears to have formed the view that he was born under “*an unlucky star*.”

Finally, in March 1590, with the immediate threat of a Spanish invasion by now abated, Raleigh was able to equip *White’s rescue expedition*. Two ships, the **Hopewell** and the **Moonlight** set sail for Roanoke. The return journey was *prolonged by extensive privateering* and a *number of sea battles*, and White’s *eventual landing at the Outer Banks - a 200-mile-long (320 km) string of barrier islands and spits off the coast of North Carolina and southeastern Virginia* was further imperiled by *poor weather*. The landing was *hazardous* and was *beset by bad conditions and adverse currents*. During the landing on Roanoke, of the mariners who accompanied White, “seven of the chiefest were drowned.”

Governor White *finally* reached Roanoke Island on 18 August 1590 – three years later than planned, on his granddaughter’s third birthday... but *he found his colony had been long deserted*. The buildings had collapsed and “the houses [were] taken downe.”

The few clues about the colonists’ whereabouts included the letters “**CRO**” carved into a tree, and the word “**CROATOAN**” carved on a post of the fort.

Roanoke Island was not the original planned location for the colony and the idea of moving elsewhere had been discussed. Before the Governor’s departure, he and the colonists had agreed that a message would be carved into a tree if they had moved and would include an image of a **Maltese Cross** if the decision was made by force. White found no such cross and, hopeful that his family was still alive, took this to mean *that* they had moved to *Croatoan Island (now known as Hatteras Island)*, but he was unable to conduct a search.

True to their word, the colonists had looked after White’s belongings, which had been carefully buried and hidden. However, local Indians had *evidently* looted the hiding place, and White found “about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my books torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust.”

A massive storm was brewing and his men refused to search any further. Due to bad weather which “grew to be fouler and fouler,” *White had to abandon the search of adjacent islands for the colonists*. The ship’s captain had *already* lost three anchors and could not afford the loss of another; so it was *that* on 24 October 1590 White returned to Plymouth, England.

The loss of the colony was a personal tragedy for White, from which he never fully recovered.<sup>9</sup>

### Tadoussac (continued)

In 1603, Pontgravé returned to **Tadoussac**, with two Montagnais Indians having lived in France for the last year, and accompanied by a new observer, **Samuel de Champlain** son of **Anthoine Chappelain** and **Marguerite Le Roy**, “**Father of New France**,” his nephew. They met with two chiefs of the Montagnais (Innu) which summered in the Tadoussac area, **Begourat** and **Anadabijou**, whom were preparing to lead a war-party against the Iroquois in the Richelieu River area. During the *tabagie* or “**solemn feast**” which followed... a strong alliance was formed with the **Montagnais**, the **Algonquins**, and the **Etchimens**. That summer, Pontgravé went with Champlain exploring the St-Lawrence River as far as the falls later called St-Louis and made a new inventory of the St-Lawrence River, after which he resumed fur trading, this time for **Aymar de Chaste**, a gentleman of the King’s Chamber, Aymar de Chaste, who had succeeded the deceased Chauvin as monopoly holder.

Though early settlement attempts had all failed, and it was not until 1604 that *efforts at permanent settlement* were renewed. These efforts were made under the terms of a *trading monopoly* granted by **King Henry IV of France** in 1603 to **Sieur de Mons**, one of the French noblemen who had spent a disastrous winter of 1603-04 at *Île-Saint-Croix*. A house was built at Tadoussac, which Champlain saw and described as being “twenty-five feet long by eighteen wide and eight feet high, covered with boards with a fireplace in

<sup>9</sup> It has been postulated *that* some of the **Lost Roanoke Colony** survivors sought shelter with a neighboring Indian tribe, the **Chowanoc**, which were attacked by another tribe, identified by the Jamestown Colony as the “**Mandoag**.” *Survivors* were *eventually sold into slavery* and held captive by *differing bands of the Eno tribe*, but the reports were suppressed because *they had no way to rescue the captives* and didn’t want to panic the Jamestown colonists.

Four Englishmen, two boys, and one girl had been sighted at *the Eno settlement of Ritanoc*, under the protection of a chief called **Eyanoco**, *although the captives were forced to beat copper*. The captives, he reported, had escaped the attack on the other colonists and fled up the **Chohanoke River**...

The **Chowanoc** tribe was *eventually* absorbed into the **Tuscarora**. The Eno tribe was *also* associated with the **Shakori** tribe and was later absorbed by the **Catawba** or the **Saponi** tribes. From the early-17<sup>th</sup> century unto the middle-18<sup>th</sup> century, European colonists reported encounters with *gray-eyed American Indians* or with *Welsh-speaking Indians* who claimed descent from the colonists. In 1669 a Welsh cleric named **Morgan Jones** was *taken captive by the Tuscarora*. He feared for his life, but a *visiting Doeg Indian war captain* spoke to him in Welsh and assured him *that* he would not be killed. The Doeg warrior ransomed Jones and his party and Jones remained with their tribe for months as a preacher. In 1701, surveyor **John Lawson** encountered members of the **Hatteras** tribe living on **Roanoke Island** who claimed *some of their ancestors were White people*. Lawson wrote *that* “several of the Hatteras tribesmen had gray eyes.” Some present-day American Indian tribes in North Carolina and South Carolina, among them the **Coree** and the **Lumbee** tribes, *also* claim partial descent from surviving Roanoke colonists.

The first of the so-called “**Dare Stones**” *allegedly* found in northern Georgia and the Carolinas *announced the death of Elyonor’s daughter, Virginia Dare and her husband, Ananias Dare, at the hands of savages* in 1591 - and of *Elyonor’s marriage to an Indian and her death*. Most of the stones were exposed as *forges* in 1941; *however*, the first “Dare Stone” is still considered authentic by some scholars.

the middle,” encompassed by a wattle palisade and a ditch.<sup>10</sup> After the colonists were settled, Chauvin and his companions devoted their energies to *the traffic in pelts* until the autumn, when they sailed for France with *a cargo of beaver and other furs*. At Tadoussac they left 16 men to face the unknown northern winter; only 5 survived... and these owed their lives to *Indian hospitality*.

Chauvin sent only one vessel, the *Espérance*, to the Saguenay the following spring, but did not sail himself. He died in 1603 after two years of successful trading, being briefly succeeded by *Aymar de Chaste*.

In 1604, two years before the English made their first permanent settlement at *Jamestown* (Virginia), *Port-Royal/Annapolis (Acadia)* was founded (*near present-day Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia*) by *de Monts*, who had been given *a fur trade monopoly for Acadia; Champlain; Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt et de St-Just* – who was a senior member of the 1604 de Mons expedition (*underwritten by merchants in Rouen, Saint-Malo, and La Rochelle*); apothecary *Louis Hébert* son of *Nicolas Hébert*, apothecary to *Catherine de Medici*, and *Jacqueline Pajot*<sup>11</sup> – *de Mons’ cousin* - *Canada’s first permanent settler and the first European to break North American soil with a plowshare*; French priest *Nicolas Aubry*, accompanied by two other clergy on this expedition - a priest who was to minister to the parish of Port Royal and a Huguenot (Protestant) minister; and legendary linguist *Mathieu de Costa* - the first recorded free black person in North America; along with 77 other settlers. They explored the *Bay of Fundy* – de Mons deciding to stay on an island in the St-Croix River on the western side of the Bay of Fundy. It was thought that *the area offered protection from raiders*. Pontgravé and Poutrincourt sailed back to France before winter.

Pontgravé arrived back at St-Croix in June 1605 with 2 ships, men, and supplies. They spent 6 weeks exploring the coast (all the way down to Cape Cod) to find a better place to settle. They chose a spot on the north side, opposite *Goat Island*, which became *Port-Royal*. They built structures at Port Royal using the materials from the buildings they had constructed on Île St-Croix. This attempt at colonization failed when de Mons lost his monopoly in 1607, although the site was eventually reoccupied by other colonists. In early 1608 de Mons was granted a one-year monopoly on trading and the right to establish a settlement. The expedition that year was led by Samuel de Champlain (who also had an important role in establishing the Acadian colony), and resulted in the establishment of the colony that grew to become *Québec City*.

### Powhatan & the Jamestown Settlement

The *Powhatan Confederacy* was established in the late-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries under the leadership of *Chief Wahunsenacawh*, the *paramount chief of “Tsenacommacah”* - an alliance of Algonquian-speaking Virginia Indians (named for the tribe he originally led which was based near present-day Richmond, Virginia): He had many names and titles; his own people sometimes called him *Ottaniack* or *Mamauatonick*. Over a period of years, through negotiation and/or coercion, *Chief Powhatan* united more than 30 of the Virginia Indian tribal groups in the *Tidewater region* of what is now the Commonwealth of Virginia in the United States, essentially the southeastern portion of the state.

*Wahunsenacawh* was the father of *Pocahontas* (q.v.), who eventually converted to Christianity and married the English colonist *John Rolfe*.

In 1607, the English colonists were introduced to *Wahunsenacawh* as *Powhatan*. In December 1607, English soldier and pioneer *John Smith*, one of the Jamestown colony’s leaders, was *captured by a hunting expedition led by Opchanacanough* - the younger brother of Powhatan. Smith was taken to the village of *Werowocomoco* - *Powhatan’s capital along the York River*. At first, *the natives were glad to trade provisions to the colonists for metal tools*, but, by 1609, the English governor *John Smith had begun to send in raiding parties to demand food*. This earned the colonists a bad reputation among the Indians and precipitated conflict. They isolated the Natives, burned down their houses, and stole their food supplies.

On 4 May 1607, the *Jamestown settlement* (named after King James) was established by the *Virginia Company of London* in the *Colony of Virginia*: It was *the first permanent English settlement in the Americas* – and was originally called “*James Fort*” - located on the east bank of the Powhatan (James) River, within the country of *Tsenacommacah*, which was ruled by the Powhatan Confederacy, specifically of the *Paspahegh* tribe.

The first group of colonists had originally arrived at Jamestown on 13 May 1607, but had never planned to grow all of their own food. Their plans depended upon *trade with the local Powhatan* to supply them with food between the arrivals of periodic supply ships from England. Lack of access to water and *a relatively dry rain season crippled the agricultural production of the colonists*; also, the water that the colonists drank was brackish and potable for only half of the year. A fleet from England, damaged by a hurricane, arrived months behind schedule with new colonists, but without expected food supplies.

Jamestown served as the capital of the colony of Virginia for 83 years, from 1616 until 1699.

*The Natives initially welcomed and provided crucial provisions and support for the colonists*, who were not agriculturally inclined. Relations soured fairly early on, however, leading to *the total annihilation of the Paspahegh in warfare within three years*. *Mortality* was very high at Jamestown itself due to *disease and starvation* - over 80% of the colonists perished during the winter of 1609–10 in what became known as the “*Starving Time*”: There were about 500 Jamestown residents at the beginning of the winter; however, there were only 60 people still alive when the spring arrived.

In 1610 the London Company instructed *Sir Thomas Gates*, the newly appointed colonial governor, to *Christianize the natives and absorb them into the colony*. As for Chief Powhatan, Gates was told:

“If you finde it not best to make him your prisoner yet you must make him your tributary, and all the other his weroances [subordinate chiefs] about him first to acknowledge no other Lord but King James.”

When Gates arrived at Jamestown, he decided to evacuate the settlement because he thought the government’s plan was not feasible. On 7 June 1610, the survivors boarded ships, abandoned the colony site, and sailed towards the *Chesapeake Bay*, where another supply convoy with new supplies and headed by *Francis West*<sup>12</sup> - newly appointed Deputy Governor of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, intercepted them [ ] and ordered them to reoccupy Jamestown – and began plotting against the Powhatans. Within a few years, the *commercialization of tobacco* by John Rolfe secured the settlement’s long-term economic prosperity.

The London Company’s primary concern was the survival of the colony. In England’s best interest, the colonists would have to maintain civil relations with the Powhatan. The Powhatan and the English realized that they could benefit from each other through trade once peace was restored. In exchange for food, the chief asked the colonists to provide him with *metal hatchets and copper*.

<sup>10</sup> *Champlain’ map of Tadoussac* in 1608, depicts this structure on the east bank of a stream which enters the harbour; underneath are the words “abitation du Cappn chauvain de lan 1600” (“*habitation of Capt. Chauvin of the year 1600*”).

<sup>11</sup> *Louis Hébert* and *Marie Rollé* daughter of *Anne Cogu* and , king’s gunner, *Jehan Rollé* had two daughters, *Anne* and *Guillaumette*, and one son, *Guillaume*. *Guillaume* married *Hélène Desportes* daughter of *Françoise Langlois* and *Pierre Desportes*, a director in the Company of 100 Associates - the first white child born in Canada: (See *Virginia Dare* – the first English child born at the failed colony on *Roanoke Island*, and *Eustace Martin* son of river pilot *Maître Abraham Martin dit L’Écossais* and *Marguerite-Catherine Langlois* – half-breed daughter of *Guillaume Langlois* and *Jeanne Millet*, born in France - his godfather was *Eustache Boullé*, the brother of *Helene Boullé* child-bride of Champlain.. and when his sister *Hélène Martin* was born in 1627, Champlain himself, acted as her godfather). *Guillaume* and *Hélène* had a daughter, *Françoise Hébert*, and a son, *Joseph* who married *Marie-Charlotte de Poytiers* in 1660. *Joseph* and *Marie-Charlotte* had a single son, *Joseph*, born in 1661 while his father was captured and killed by Iroquois - as there is no further mention of this boy, he is presumed to have died as a small child, and there were no other children. As their first child, daughter *Anne* died in her first pregnancy, the descendants of *Louis Hébert* and his wife *Marie Rollet* arise from their second child, daughter *Guillaumette*, and her husband *Guillaume Couillard*; or from their granddaughter *Françoise Hébert* (child of son *Guillaume*) and her husband *Guillaume Fournier*.

<sup>12</sup> *Francis West* was the second son of *Thomas West, 2nd Baron De La Warr* (1556–1602) of *Wherwell Abbey* in Hampshire - a member of *Elizabeth I’s Privy Council* and his wife, *Anne Knollys* - a lady at the court of *Queen Elizabeth I of England*, and was born in *Salisbury, Wiltshire* on 28 October 1586. West was one of four brothers: His elder brother, *Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr* (1577–1618), served as a governor of the *Virginia Company of London* from 1610–1611; his younger brother, Governor *John West* (1590–ca 1659), served as *Crown Governor of Virginia* from 1635–1637. A fourth brother, *Nathaniel West*, died in Virginia in August 1623, aged 30. *Thomas West, 3rd and 12th Baron De La Warr* was an English politician, for whom the bay, the river, and, consequently, a Native American people and United States state, all later called “*Delaware*,” were named.

He first married *Margaret Whitney* around 1625 - a three-time widow lastly married to *Edward Blayney*. In March 1627 he married *Temperance Flowerdew* - the widow of Governor *Sir George Yeardley* – one of the first American slave-holders; but she died in December of the same year and West fought the orphans (unsuccessfully) for possession of her estate. He thence married *Jane Davye* with whom he had one son, *Francis West* in 1632. His estate was in *Elizabeth City* - in *Pasquotank County, North Carolina, south of the land of James Knott*.

According to some records, he died in February 1633/1634, although this is not certain.



Unlike **John Smith**, other early leaders of Virginia such as **Thomas Dale**<sup>13</sup> and **Thomas Gates** based their actions on different thinking, as they were military men and saw the Powhatan as *essentially* a **“military problem.”**

The Powhatan, *though*, soon realized that the Englishmen did not settle in Jamestown to trade with them... these “pilgrims” wanted more... they wanted total control over the land. As Chief Powhatan said:

“Your coming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country... Having seen the death of all my people thrice... I know the difference of peace and was better than any other Country.”

If he fought the English, Powhatan predicted:

“I would be so haunted by Smith that I could neither rest, eat, nor sleep, but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but break, every one cry, there comes Captain John Smith; then I must fly me knows not whether, and thus with miserable fear end my *miserable* life..

In July 1610 West sent Gates against *the Kecoughtan people* (in the First Anglo-Powhatan War): “Gates lured the Indians into the open by means of music-and-dance act by his drummer, and then slaughtered them.”

### Nouveau France (continued)

The **Innu** were historically allied with neighbouring **Atikamekw**, **Wolastoqiyik** (also called the *Maliseet* or *Malecites*) and **Algonquin** against their enemies, the **Algonquian-speaking Mi'kmaq and Iroquois nations**. Samuel de Champlain befriended members of this group who insisted that he help them in their conflict with the Iroquois, who were ranging north from *their traditional territory around the Great Lakes in present-day New York and Pennsylvania*. On 29 July 1609, at **Ticonderoga** or **Crown Point**, New York, (historians are not sure which of these two places), **Champlain and his party encountered a group of Iroquois, likely Mohawk**, who were the easternmost tribe of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. A battle began the next day. Two hundred Iroquois advanced on Champlain's position as a native guide pointed out the three Iroquois chiefs to the French. **Champlain fired his arquebus** and legend says **he killed two of them with one shot before one of his men killed the third**. The Iroquois then *supposedly* turned and fled. This was to **set the tone for French-Iroquois relations for the next 100 years**.

In spring of 1608, two ships set sail from France: The **Lévrier**, under the command of Pontgrivé, who was *also* in charge of the expedition, departed on April 5<sup>th</sup>; the **Don de Dieu**, under the command of Champlain, departed on April 13<sup>th</sup>. On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, Champlain arrived in **Tadoussac** (the only inland trading post and used by all the major European countries) only to discover that Pontgrivé had *immediately* tried to impose the trade monopoly on the Basque and Spanish captains and had been answered with muskets and cannons. Pontgrivé was seriously wounded. Champlain managed to negotiate a truce with the other traders and Pontgrivé agreed to share the trade with the Montagnais.

*At the time of the departure of the French, Begourat gave his son to Pontgrivé to take to France.*

On 19 June 1610, Champlain, armed with an **“arquebus,”** and his **Algonquian allies of the Great Lakes region** – Wyandot (Huron), Algonquin and Innu (Montagnais) – fought against the nations of the **Iroquois confederation**, led by the dominant Mohawks... killing or capturing *nearly* all of the Mohawks. The battle ended major hostilities with the Mohawks for twenty years.

**The Beaver Wars** continued intermittently for nearly a century, ending with the **Great Peace of Montréal** in 1701.

<sup>13</sup> **Sir Thomas Dale** was an *English naval commander in the service of the Low Countries* (the Netherlands and parts of modern Belgium) with the English army originally under **Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester** – an *English statesman and the favourite suitor for the hand of Queen Elizabeth I from her accession until his death*. Because of his *ability* and *ambition*, he became friends with many people in positions of authority. In 1599 Thomas Dale was recruited by the **Earl of Essex** for England's army, and was **knighted by King James** to become **“Sir Thomas Dale of Surry”** on 16 June 1606.

Five years later, the **Virginia Company of London** sent Sir Thomas Dale to act as **“Marshall of Virginia”** (a new position) for the Virginia Colony under the authority of **Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr (Lord Delaware)**. Sent with three ships, on 19 May 1611, he arrived at **Jamestown** with men, cattle, and provisions. He found *the conditions were unhealthy and greatly in need of improvement*. Dale immediately called for a meeting of the **Jamestown Council**, and established crews to rebuild Jamestown.

Governor Dale *effectively*, for five years, was **the highest ranking law enforcement officer in Virginia**. He exhibited certain stern efficiency and is best remembered for the energy and the extreme rigour of his administration in Virginia, which established order and in various ways seems to have benefited the colony.

**Nouveau France was initially a proprietary colony** granted by the French Crown to various corporations to rule provided they fulfilled various terms of their charters like supporting **the missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church amongst the Indians**. After the successive bankruptcies of the various corporations who previously received royal charters, in 1627 Nouveau France was granted by the Crown to the **Compagnie des Cent-Associés**<sup>14</sup> who had the exclusive rights to rule Nouveau France provided they fulfilled the terms of the royal charter.

In 1610, at the age of 17, **Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour** *son of Huguenot Claude de Saint-Étienne de la Tour and his wife Marie Amador de Salazar, a descendant of Georges de La Trémoille (captured at Agincourt in 1415), the Grand Chamberlain of France to King Charles VII of France* arrived at **Port-Royal in Acadia** with his father in an expedition that was led by **Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt** *fourth son of Florimond de Biencourt and Jeanne de Salazar – and husband of Claude Pajot* who had been one of the original settlers in 1604 at St=Croix Island, Maine before they moved in 1605 to their permanent settlement at Port-Royal. The habitation had been previously abandoned in 1607 by Biencourt de Poutrincourt and others due to financial troubles.

After building their fort, the French left in 1607, leaving only two of their party behind, under **Grand Chief Membertou—sakmow** (*political leader*) and **autmoin** (*spiritual leader*) of the local **Mi'kmaq people**—who believed him to have powers of healing and prophecy: (Membertou claimed to be a grown man when he first met **Jacques Cartier**, which would mean that he was *probably* born in the early years of the sixteenth century). Membertou's baptism was part of the entry by the Mi'kmaq into a relationship with the Catholic Church, known as the **Mi'kmaw Concordat**.

Upon their return in 1610, Poutrincourt's 19-year-old son **Charles de Biencourt de Saint-Just** and a Catholic priest set about the task of baptizing Membertou. Thus, on 24 June 1610 (St-Jean-Baptiste Day), Membertou became **the first native leader to be baptized by the French**, as a sign of alliance and good faith. The ceremony was carried out by priest **Jessé Fléché**, who went on to baptize all 21 members of Membertou's immediate family. It was then that Membertou was given the baptismal name **“Henri”** – *after the late king of France, Henry IV*.

### Matoaka (Pocahontas)

In October 1613, **Matoaka (Pocahontas)**<sup>15</sup> was **kidnapped under orders of the Virginia Company of London by Admiral Samuel Argall** – *the first to develop a shorter, more northerly route for sailing across the Atlantic Ocean to the Virginia Colony and its primary port and seat of government at Jamestown*. She was to be held hostage until Powhatan agreed to their demands that “all

<sup>14</sup> The **Company of One Hundred Associates** (or *Compagnie du Canada* or *Company of New France*) was a **French trading and colonization company** (chartered in 1627 to capitalize on the North American fur trade and to expand French colonies there). The company was **granted a monopoly to manage the fur trade in the colonies of Nouveau France**, which were at that time centered on the St-Lawrence River valley and the Gulf of St-Lawrence. In return the company was *supposed to settle French Catholics in new colonies*.

The *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* went out of business in 1663.

<sup>15</sup> **Matoaka (Pocahontas)** daughter of **Wahunsonacock**, *paramount chief of the Powhatan Confederacy* – an alliance of Algonquian-speaking Indians in the region of Tsenacommacah (i.e. the Tidewater region of Virginia) – older brother of **Opchanacanough**, who led attacks against the English in 1622 & 1644, who eventually converted to Christianity, being **baptized “Rebecca”** – and was later married to English colonist **John Rolfe** son of John Rolfe and Dorothea Mason by **Reverend Richard Bucke**, who had sailed with his wife and their two daughters for Jamestown in 1609, along with the colony's new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, aboard the **Sea Venture**: (The *Sea Venture* was wrecked in a storm off the coast of Bermuda and the passengers and crew did not arrive at Jamestown until 23 May 1610). Their marriage created a **climate of peace between Jamestown colonists and Powhatan tribes** for several years.

In the spring of 1616, when **Governor Dale** sailed back to England on an investor-relations journey, aboard the **Treasurer** – under command of **Samuel Argall, John Rolfe** and **Rebecca** (Pocahontas) and their one-year-old son, Thomas Rolfe, were with him, accompanied by Powhatan “holy man” **Uttamatomakkin**, known as **Tomocomo**, and his wife, **Matachanna Pocahontas' half-sister. Queen Anne of Denmark** (Queen consort of Scotland, England, and Ireland by marriage to King James VI and I) and others were reportedly charmed by Rebecca, and investment in the Virginia Company was enhanced. However, soon after leaving **London**, as Rolfe and his wife sailed down the **Thames River**, Rebecca became very ill, languished, and died on 21 March 1617 before returning to Virginia.

When Tomocomo returned to Virginia in 1617, **Opchanacanough** began planning a massive attack on the settlers.

Powhatan captives be released and all English weapons taken by his warriors be returned, and that he agree upon a lasting peace.”

Gates, fearful of reprisal from **Chief Powhatan**, turned the Algonquian princess over to **Thomas Dale**. While in captivity, **Pocahontas** was taught the English language, and learned English customs and religion; more-so, two years later, taking the Christian name “**Rebecca**,” she was baptized by “**The Apostle of Virginia**” **Alexander Whitaker**, an Anglican theologian at **Henricus** - one of the westernmost outlying developments from the Colony of Virginia’s fortified capital downriver at Jamestown, near where Pocahontas grew up among the **Appomattox** tribe of the Powhatan Confederacy.

Rolfe wrote that **the way to maintain peace between the Powhatan and the English was to marry Pocahontas**, not “with the unbridled desire of carnal affection but for the good of the colony and the glory of God. Such a marriage might bring peace between the warring English and Powhatan, just as it would satisfy Pocahontas’ desire.” After they married, there were more **peaceful relations for a time** between the English colonists and the Powhatan Confederacy.

Edward Waterhouse, secretary of the Virginia Company, wrote:

“Such was the conceit of firme peace and amitie, as that there was seldome or never a sword worne, and a Peece [firearm] seldomer, except for a Deere or Fowle [ ] the Plantations of particular Adventurers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veyne of rich ground invited them, and the further from neighbors held the better. The houses generally set open to the Savages, who were always friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers.”

**Argall** went on to lead **a piratical English invasion force on a surprise attack against the settlers at Port-Royal**. First, he eradicated **the French Jesuit colony of St-Sauveur (now in Maine)**; afterwards, **he carried fourteen prisoners back to Jamestown... and, from thence, he went on to burn the settlement and the restant structures of the earlier Ste-Croix colony (now in Maine) and he occupied site of Port Royal (now in Nova Scotia)**, sacking every building – yet, although l’Habitation was destroyed... he failed to wipe out the colony.

### The Récollet Order & the Jesuits

Despite their limited financial resources and small numbers, the Récollets were **the first to carry out significant missionary work in Nouveau France**: For example, they were **the first pastors in the colony at Port Royal**. In 1615, the **Mission de L’Exaltation-de-la-Sainte-Croix-de-Tadoussac**, named in honour of a cross planted by **Jean de Quen**, was founded by the **Récollet Order**.<sup>16</sup> Their missionary brothers sang the first Mass there two years later. The Récollets were important as **early missionaries to the French colonies in Canada**, although they were later displaced by the **Jesuits**.

Récollet and Jesuit missionaries were very much the same, in the sense that **both orders sought to Christianize natives**, while at the same time using similar methodologies. Within the **Récollet theory of conversion**, the French settlers in Nouveau France played a primordial role in **the Christianization of indigenous peoples**. They believed that colonization and evangelization were inseparable. This is compared to the **Jesuits**, who held their evangelization efforts completely separate from their involvement in the French colony. The Récollets never neglected the French settlers in favour of devoting themselves entirely to the conversion of natives. French settlers were seen by the Récollets as the key to creating their ideal society; they wished to **promote French and native intermarriage**, in the hopes of **eventually building a larger Christian settlement**. In practice, **however**, the native populations encountered by the Récollets had no intentions on settling permanently in the French colony. This led the missionaries to **instead travel to indigenous communities in the hopes of teaching them about the Catholic faith**, much like their Jesuit counterparts.

The goal of the Récollets in Nouveau France was to undertake missionary work among the indigenous peoples who lived there. This work was not without its challenges; **e.g., language proved a difficult barrier to overcome**. To solve this problem, the Récollets recruited “**truchements**” (a term literally translated to “**helpers**”), who were young and resourceful men from humble backgrounds, to interpret indigenous linguistic patterns and respond with gestures and miming. The “truchements” were supported financially by the missionaries, giving some the opportunity to rise within Nouveau France’s social ranks. For example, **Nicolas Marsolet** was granted a seigneurie, while **Pierre Boucher** became governor of Trois-Rivières, later founding the town of Boucherville.

The Récollets **usually had close connections to the natives**. In fact, when they first arrived in Nouveau France, they openly welcomed “**unruly**” **native children** within their walls in order **to teach them the way of God**. Even though they quickly realized **that** they did not have enough money to continue this mission, they still maintained relatively good relations with the natives, especially with the **Hurons**. The **Récollet convent** was very close to a few indigenous settlements, and some became very good friend with the Hurons. Some were even addressed with Huron kinship terms. They were taught about their beliefs, their customs, and their language - which wouldst **later** help in creating **a useful Huron dictionary**.

On 24 April 1615 Champlain sailed from **Honfleur** aboard the **St-Étienne**, bringing **four Récollet friars** - a reform branch of the **Order of Friars Minor known for their strict poverty** - to Nouveau France: **Père Joseph Le Caron OMR, Père Denis Jamet OMR, Père Jean Dolbeau OMR, and Brother Pacifique du Plessis**. These four pioneer missionaries of Canada were **the first missionary to the Hurons (or Wendat)**. Arriving on May 25<sup>th</sup>, Père Caron, a saintly man given to the practice of austerities but gentle towards others, immediately accompanied some fur-traders to **Sault St-Louis**. His intention was to meet the Huron traders there and go with them to their own country. After a short time he returned to Québec to provide himself with **a portable altar kit**.

On 24 June 1615 Père Caron assisted Père Jamet in saying **the first Mass in Québec**, on **Île de Montréal**. Père Caron returned to the Sault, and went into **the land of the Hurons**, being **the first to visit their settlements and preach the Gospel**, preceding even Champlain. His party made the 1100-km voyage following the Ottawa River as far as the Mattawa, the Mattawa as far as Lake Nipissing, and then the French River to Georgian Bay. He thus became **the first European to see Lake Huron**, which he reached by the end of July, a few days before Champlain **also** arrived. On 12 August 1615 **he celebrated the first Mass in Huron country**, in the presence of Champlain. Le Caron stayed with the Hurons about a year (1615–16)... and, on 20 July 1616, returned to France with Père Jamet and Champlain, to urge before the king and the **Associates of Rouen** the spiritual and material interests of the colony. The following spring saw him in Canada again, as **Provincial Commissary**. During this time **he celebrated the wedding of Louis Hébert’s eldest daughter Anne to Étienne Jonquest** - the first recorded Christian marriage in Canada.

Jean Dolbeau became **Provincial Commissary** of the mission in 1618 and preached **the first “jubilee” accorded to Canada** - and built **the first friary of the Récollets** at Québec in 1620. During the winters of 1618 and 1622 Père Caron evangelized the Montagnais of Tadoussac. He also taught them reading and writing.

From 1613 to 1620, the **Compagnie des Marchands de Rouen et de St-Malo** operated in Nouveau France but as a result of not fulfilling their obligations to establish six families per year in the colony - **a breach of their contract**. Under the auspices of the **Prince de Condé, Viceroy of Nouveau France**, Champlain formed the **Compagnie de Rouen**, composed of merchants who promised to take the interests of the colony to heart; but this company, instead of colonizing Canada, cared only for the fur trade.

Again elected commissary provincial, Père Jamet returned to Canada with **Champlain and his wife**, sailing on 5 April 1620 on the **Sallemande**. On reaching Québec he exhorted the colonists to obey the viceroy and his lieutenant, Champlain. He completed **the first regular convent of the Récollets at Québec, Notre-Dame-des-Anges**, with the financial assistance of **Charles de Boves**, vicar general of Pontoise, **Henry II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé**, and **Sieur Louis Houel**. He dedicated the convent on 25 May 1621. **Jamet returned to France in the spring of 1622**.

In 1619, **Duc Henri De Montmorency II, Viceroy of Nouveau France** enlisted **Champlain**, Royal cartographer, to recruit workers for Nouveau France, and preference was given to young men with families. At the time, many French people were becoming disillusioned with the way things were at home, in the aftermath of the costly **Religious Wars**.

### The Second Anglo-Powhatan War

In 1618, **after the death of Powhatan**, his brother **Opitchapam**, a lame and quite old man, became paramount chief of the confederacy. However, the youngest brother, **Opchanacanough** (“He whose Soul is White”), had achieved great power in the region and **effectively** became the Powhatan leader, along with his friend and advisor **Nemattanew** - **war-chief of the Powhatan during the First Anglo-Powhatan War** - the English garrison knew him as “**Jack-of-the-Feather**” (on account of his native war regalia, remarking that “**he used to come into the field all covered over with feathers and swans’ wings fastened unto his**

<sup>16</sup> The **Récollet** branch of the **Friars Minor** developed out of a reform movement of the Order which began in 16<sup>th</sup> century Spain under figures such as **Saint Peter of Alcantara OFM**, a Spanish Franciscan friar canonized in 1669 - the followers of the reform were known as **Alcantarines**.

shoulders, as though he meant to fly"): Because *Nemattanew was never wounded* in these skirmishes, *he began to believe he was supernaturally invulnerable to musket-fire*... and he persuaded his fellow tribesmen of this attribute, enhancing his reputation with them. Neither of them believed peaceful relations could be maintained with the colonists... Opitchapam retired or was deposed (*perhaps* in 1620-1621; but it is possible *that* he may have died in 1630) - and he was succeeded by his youngest brother.

Having recovered from their defeat commanding Pamunkey warriors during the **First Anglo-Powhatan War**, Opchanacanough and Nemattanew began to predispose *plans for the unavoidable war*: They planned to shock the English with an attack that would leave them contained in a small trading outpost, rather than expanding throughout the area with new plantations.

In the more peaceful times *following the war*, *Nemattanew* continued to play a prominent role. He was *trained by the English to become a proficient musket shot*. In 1618, he raided an English settlement, capturing some guns, but these were returned by Opchanacanough; then, in 1619, Opchanacanough sent him to propose *that* the English contribute eight-to-ten soldiers to accompany a Powhatan war party for *an assault on a Siouan-speaking tribe to avenge some Powhatan women they had slain*. In return, the Powhatans would equally share all plundered captives, corn and territory with the English. This proposal was accepted [ ] *however*, the Virginians failed to supply the soldiers. Finally, in the spring of 1622, *Nemattanew appeared at the home of settler Morgan*. He saw some *trading-trinkets* and proposed taking Morgan to *Pamunkey* to gain a good price... *Morgan was never seen again*.

A few days later, Nemattanew showed up at the plantation and announced Morgan's death. As he was wearing Morgan's hat, settlers suspected the "savage" might have killed the settler. They tried to force him to go with them to the nearest magistrate, but he resisted... and *one of the English fatally shot him*. As Nemattanew lay dying, he begged to be buried behind English lines and not to reveal to his people that he had been felled by English fire.

The **Second Anglo-Powhatan War** erupted with **Opchanacanough** launching a *campaign of surprise attacks* on at least 31 separate English settlements and plantations, *mostly* along the James River, extending as far as *Henricus*. During the *one-day surprise attack*, the Powhatan tribes rose to kill as many English as they could in their homes and fields - attacking many of the smaller communities, including Henricus and its fledgling college for children of natives and settlers alike. Death counts vary, but *about* 400 English died (a third of the white population) and 20 women were taken captive: The captives lived and worked as Powhatan Indians until their deaths or ransom. The settlers abandoned substantial portions of the land they occupied... and their dead lay forgotten beneath plantation's fields and woodlands (*until 1976*).

On Friday, 22 March 1622, *braves of the Powhatan "came unarmed into our houses with deer, turkeys, fish, fruits, and other provisions to sell us."* They grabbed any tools or weapons available and killed all English settlers they found, including men, women, and children of all ages - *burning and looting dwellings* and *even desecrating corpses*. Chief Opchanacanough led a coordinated series of surprise attacks by the Powhatan Confederacy that killed 347 people, a quarter of the English population of the Virginia colony.

Its origins are disputed. English apologists say *that* the conflict was initiated by Opchanacanough; yet others argue *that* Opchanacanough had secured concessions from *Governor Yeardley* which the company would not accept. Thus, Opchanacanough's attack, on 18 April 1622, may have been a *pre-emptive attempt to defeat the colony before reinforcements arrived*. In *about* one day, the Powhatan killed 350 of 1240 colonists, destroying some outlying settlements. The *Virginia Company* quickly published an account of this attack - steeped in *Calvinist theology*. The "massacre" was *the work of Providence* in that *it was justification for the destruction of the Powhatan and the building of English settlements over their former towns*. New orders from the London Company directed a "perpetual war without peace or truce" "to root out from being any longer a people, so cursed a nation, ungrateful to all benefite, and incapable of all goodnesses."

By initiating the **Indian Massacre of 1622** (and further attacks in 1644) Opchanacanough nearly accomplished his purpose, *viz.* to force the English from Virginia. Opchanacanough withdrew his warriors, believing *that* the English would behave as Indians wouldst whence defeated - *i.e.* pack up and leave... or learn their lesson to respect the power of the Powhatan.

The surviving English settlers were in shock after the attacks. As they began to recover, the men worked on a plan of action: "By unanimous decision both the council and planters it was agreed to draw people together into fewer settlements" for better defense. The colony intended to gather men together to plan attack, but this was difficult because of the survivors, "two-thirds were said to have been women and children and men who were unable to work or to go against the Indians."

Following the event, the English withdrew from their scattered settlements to the safety of Jamestown. Opchanacanough told the *Patawomeck*, who were not part of the Confederacy and had remained neutral, that he expected "before the

end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries." He misunderstood the English colonists, *though*, and their backers overseas. In England, upon learning of the massacre, *John Smith* believing *that* the settlers would not leave their plantations to defend the colony, planned to return with *a ship filled with soldiers, sailors, and ammunition*, to establish a "running Army" able to fight the Powhatan. Smith's goal was to "inforce the Salvages to leave their Country, or bring them in the feare of subjection that every man should follow their business securely" - *but Smith never returned to Virginia*.

Notwithstanding, Opchanacanough's war met with strong reprisals from the English, *ultimately resulting in the near destruction of the tribe*. The English took revenge against the Powhatan by "the use of force, surprise attacks, famine resulting from the burning of their corn, destroying their boats, canoes, and houses, breaking their fishing weirs and assaulting them in their hunting expedition, pursuing them with horses and using bloodhounds to find them and mastiffs to seize them, driving them to flee within reach of their enemies among other tribes, and 'assimilating and abetting their enemies against them'"

The 1622 massacre was used as *a justification for ongoing seizure of Powhatan land by the colonists for the next ten years* - as "by virtue of launching this unprovoked assault native Americans had forfeited any legal and moral rights they might previously have claimed to the ownership of the lands they occupied."

"We, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their own contentment... may now by right of war, and law of nations, invade the country, and those who sought to destroy us: whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places"

A Virginian settler.

Within two years, in 1624, "the Crown" took over the territory as a royal colony of England. *This meant that the Crown took direct authority rather than allowing guidance by the London Company. The Crown could exercise its patronage for royal favorites. Settlers continued to encroach on land of the Powhatan tribes, and the colony (and England) tended to change or ignore agreements with the natives when no longer in the colony's interest. The tribes had increasing frustration with the settlers.*

### The Compagnie de Montmorency

The *Compagnie des Marchands* lost their rights in 1621 to the *Compagnie de Montmorency* - created by **Henri II de Montmorency** Throughout all of these years, the monopoly holders frequently had trouble dealing with *rogue traders* (from France and other nations) in North America on one side, and politically connected opponents of their monopoly in France on the other. Many of the directors of these companies were *more interested in trade than in colonization*, which was *usually* a drain on the company's finances. Champlain, who championed the colonization efforts, worked tirelessly to make sure the French colonies survived amid political and corporate changes of power.

On 28 June 1623 Récollet friar **Père Gabriel "Théodat" Sagard OMR**<sup>17</sup> arrived in Nouveau France. In August, Sagard traveled to a Huron village on the southern shore of Lake Huron, where he began his missionary work and study of the Huron language.

In 1623, **Père Caron** was accompanied back into *the land of the Hurons* by **Récollet Père Nicolas Viel OMR** who was studying the language and would contribute significantly to *Le Caron's dictionary*: (Caron compiled *the first dictionary of the Huron language*, and also *dictionaries of the Algonquin and Montagnais languages* - but none are extant today). Père Caron would have lost his life, but for the protection of a powerful Huron chief.

In June 1624, Père Caron sent to France a study of the Indians, their customs, and the difficulties involved in their conversion. Large extracts of the document were preserved by **Père Le Clercq**. The introduction refers to a second memoir, the manuscript of which is now lost. He wrote *two indictments* to the king of the *Compagnie des Marchands de Rouen et de St-Malo*, which the Récollets believed were hindering the evangelization of the Indians.

After almost two years, in May 1625, **Père Viel** decided to return to Québec in *the company of a band of Hurons*, with the intention of making a few days retreat and then returning to his missions. It is known *that he never reached Québec*, but after a long period of travel, on June 25<sup>th</sup>, was *drowned in the last chute of the Rivière des Prairies*, which from that time bears the name of

<sup>17</sup> In July 1624, he was ordered by his superiors to return to France. All record of him ends some time around 1636. Sagard seems to have either left the Order or he may simply have died while still a friar.

**Sault-au-Récollet.** The young Huron convert neophyte **Auhaisique**,<sup>18</sup> whom he had instructed and baptized **Francis**, met with the same fate.

Their information regarding his death was obtained after the fact and through interpreters. Their canoe *apparently* attempted to shoot a rapid that would usually have been portaged and flipped. Suspicions *that the drowning was intentional* appear to be weakly based on the survival of the accompanying Hurons, and tensions between the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the French. They have, *nonetheless*, led to repeated assertions that Viel and his companion were murdered... and the myth of martyrdom,<sup>19</sup> *however likely*, was a “tendentious fabrication” to leverage Indian alliances.

“Whether there was some miscalculation in the measures they took or whether it was brought about by design the canoe capsized.”

French Jesuit priest Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, *the first historian of Nouveau France*

“Time and again we ran the risk of losing our lives and of being swallowed up in the falls and whirlpools as were, since then, good Father Nicholas and a young boy Francis, our disciple.”

Gabriel Sagard OMR, French lay brother and Récollet friar

In 1625, Père Caron<sup>20</sup> was once more in France. He returned to Canada a year later, was again appointed **Commissary for the friars** in Québec, *and filled this office until the capture of Québec by the English in 1629, when he and his colleagues were sent back to France by the conquerors. He arrived back in France on 29 October 1629.*

In 1627, as part of a plan to develop trade, **Cardinal de Richelieu**<sup>21</sup> withdrew the monopoly of the Compagnie de Montmorency, and established in its place the **Compagnie de la Nouvelle France** capitalized with 3000 French livres from each of its’ one hundred investors, thus becoming more widely known as the **Compagnie des Cent-Associés** (Company of One Hundred Associates). Its investors included many important officials of the French court *as well as* merchants and financiers, although most of the investors in the earlier trading companies were excluded: (*Champlain is listed as investor number 52 in a list published on 14 January 1628*). The company was closely controlled by Richelieu, and was given **sweeping authority over trade and colonization in all of Nouveau France**, a territory encompassing all of Acadia, Canada (i.e. Québec), Newfoundland, and French Louisiana. Management was entrusted to twelve directors.

In 1627 **war had broken out with England**, which raised the risk of seizure of ships heading for North America. In fact, **King Charles I of England** had issued **letters of manqué**<sup>22</sup> authorizing the seizure of French shipping and even

the taking and destruction of her colonies. The company’s first fleet of colonization and supply left France in April 1628 under the cloud of war, and over the objections of some of its directors.

In the spring of 1628, **Sir David Kirke** and his brothers, who were in possession of **letters of manqué**, captured the French post of **Tadoussac at the mouth of the St-Lawrence River – but it was returned to France in the spring of 1629.** The **Kirke mercenaries** used Tadoussac as a base to attack French fishing vessels, sailing up-river in heavily armed merchant ships, burning a French farm, and demanding *that* Champlain surrender Québec. He refused, and the Kirkes retreated, believing Québec to be too strongly defended. They encountered and seized the poorly defended company fleet, and took the captured goods back to England. The company lost 90% of its initial investment with the loss of the fleet.

The company encountered numerous further difficulties with its exploitation of New France including territorial battles with the British.

### The Massachusetts Bay Colony

**Prior to the arrival of European colonists** on the eastern shore of New England, the area around Massachusetts Bay was the territory of several Algonquian-speaking tribes, including the **Massachusetts**, **Nausets**, and **Wampanoags**. The **Pennacooks** occupied the **Merrimack River valley** to the north, and the **Nipmucks**, **Pocumtucs**, and **Mahicans** occupied the western lands of Massachusetts, although some of those tribes were under tribute to the **Mohawks**, who were expanding aggressively from upstate New York. The **total Indian population in 1620** has been estimated to be 7000; this number was significantly larger as late as 1616; in later years, contemporaneous chroniclers interviewed Indians who described **a major pestilence which killed as many as two-thirds of the population**. The land-use patterns of the Indians included plots cleared for agricultural purposes and woodland territories for hunting game. Land divisions among the tribes were well understood.

The **Massachusetts Bay Colony** was founded by the owners of the **Massachusetts Bay Company**, which included investors in the **failed Dorchester Company** that had established **a short-lived settlement on Cape Ann** in 1623. The colony began in 1628 and was **the company’s second attempt at colonization**. It was successful, with about 20,000 people migrating to New England in the 1630s. The population was strongly **Puritan**,<sup>23</sup> and its governance was dominated by a small group of leaders who were strongly influenced by Puritan religious leaders. Its governors were elected, and the electorates were limited to freemen who had been examined for their religious views and formally admitted to the local church. As a consequence, the colonial leadership exhibited **intolerance to other religious views, including Anglican, Quaker,<sup>24</sup> and Baptist theologies**.

combined patriotism and profit. Such privateering contrasted with attacks and captures of random ships, which was unlicensed and known as piracy; piracy was almost universally reviled. In reality, the differences between privateers and pirates were often at best subtle, and at worst more a matter of interpretation.

In addition to the meaning of the license itself, the terms **letter of manqué** and **privateer** were *sometimes* used to describe the vessels used to pursue and capture prizes. In this context, a letter of manqué was **a lumbering, square-rigged cargo carrier** that might pick up a prize if the opportunity arose in its normal course of duties. In contrast, the term privateer generally referred to **a fast and weatherly fore-and-aft rigged vessel, heavily armed and heavily crewed, intended exclusively for fighting**.

\* The **Age of Sail** was a period roughly corresponding to the early modern period in which international trade and naval warfare were dominated by sailing ships, lasting from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>23</sup> A **Puritan** was a member of a group called the **English Reformed Protestants**, who in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries who sought to “purify” the **Church of England** from its “Catholic” practices, maintaining *that* the Church of England was only partially reformed. They advocated **strict religious discipline** in addition to the **simplification of the ceremonies and creeds** of the Church of England and believed *that it was important to work hard* and that **pleasure was wrong or unnecessary**. The Puritans, *in short*, were people who wanted **religious, moral and societal reforms** to purify their church. Puritans believed *that it was necessary to be in a covenant relationship with God* in order to be redeemed from one’s sinful condition, *that God had chosen to reveal salvation through preaching*, and that **the Holy Spirit was the energizing instrument of salvation**.

<sup>24</sup> **Quakers** (or Friends) are members of a historically Christian group of religious movements formally known as the **Religious Society of Friends**, **Society of Friends** or **Friends Church** - a mid-17<sup>th</sup> century religious movement in England. Most Friends believed in **continuing revelation**, which is the **religious belief that truth is continuously revealed directly to individuals from God**. Quaker beliefs, *furthermore*, included **an emphasis on plain speech and dress; opposition to slavery and war; and the refusal to swear oaths**... practicing, *instead*, **great simplicity in daily life and in worship, integrity, equality, simplicity, community, stewardship of the Earth, and peace**. They used no scripture – as their services consisted mainly of **silent meditation**.

<sup>18</sup> Canadian ethnohistorian Bruce Graham Trigger wrote “Auhaisique [Ahunsic] was not a Huron, but the nickname the Huron had given to a young Frenchman who was probably a servant of the Récollets.”

<sup>19</sup> Viel is sometimes referred to as **the first Canadian martyr**, which can be seen as technically correct given *that* the **Catechism of the Catholic Church** states “Martyrdom is the supreme witness given to the truth of the faith: it means bearing witness even unto death.” The designation of martyr has been strongly opposed by those who see it as supporting the belief that Viel and Auhaisique were murdered by the Hurons.

<sup>20</sup> He **died of the plague** in the friary of Ste-Marguerite near Gisors, in Upper Normandy, where he served as guardian.

<sup>21</sup> **Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis, 1st Duke of Richelieu and Fronsac** was a French clergyman, nobleman, and statesman known by the title of the king’s “**Chief Minister**” or “**First Minister**.” He sought to consolidate royal power and crush domestic factions. By **restraining the power of the nobility**, he transformed France into a strong, centralized state. His **chief foreign policy objective was to check the power of the Austro-Spanish Habsburg dynasty**, and to ensure **French dominance in the Thirty Years’ War** that engulfed Europe. Although he was a cardinal, he did not hesitate to make **alliances with Protestant rulers** in attempting to achieve his goals. Richelieu is also known by the sobriquet “**L’Eminence rouge**” (“**the Red Eminence**”) from the red shade of a cardinal’s clerical dress. As **an advocate for Samuel de Champlain** and of the retention of Nouveau France, he founded the **Compagnie des Cent-Associés** and saw the **Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye** return Québec City to French rule under Champlain, after the settlement had been taken by the Kirkes in 1629. This in part allowed the colony to eventually develop into **the heartland of Francophone culture in North America**.

<sup>22</sup> A **letter of manqué and reprisal** (French: *lettre de manqué*; *lettre de course*) was a government license in the **Age of Sail**\* that authorized a private person, known as a **privateer** or **corsair**, to attack and capture vessels of a nation at war with the issuer. Once captured, the privateer could then bring the case of that prize before their own **admiralty court** for condemnation and transfer of ownership to the privateer. A **letter of manqué** and reprisal would include permission to cross an international border to effect a reprisal (take some action against an attack or injury) and was authorized by an issuing jurisdiction to conduct reprisal operations outside its borders.

Popular among Europeans from the late-Middle Ages up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cruising for enemy prizes with a letter of manqué was considered an honorable calling that



The colonists *initially* had good relationships with the local Indian populations, but frictions developed that *ultimately* led to the **Pequot War** (1636–38) and then to **King Philip's War** (1675–78), after which most of the Indians in southern New England made peace treaties with the colonists (apart from the Pequot tribe, whose survivors were largely absorbed into the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes following the Pequot War).

The colony was economically successful, engaging in trade with England and the West Indies.

## SECTION ONE

### PART ONE

#### The 17<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-French Conflicts

- a series of conflicts between England/Britain and France -

The **Action of 17 July 1628** was the largest incident of the North American phase of the **Beaver Wars**, severely impairing that colony's ability to resist attack. It began in 1627 with David Kirke's father when **several London merchants formed the Company of Adventurers to Canada** to develop trade and settlement for profit on the St-Lawrence River. An English force led by the **Kirke brothers** succeeded in capturing a supply convoy bound for Nouveau France, severely impairing the colony's ability to resist attack... yielding a great deal of plunder.

Champlain and the residents of Québec experienced tremendous suffering during that winter, but were aided by their Aboriginal allies, including the Montagnais (Innu) and the Huron (Wendat).

Despite his **failure to capture Québec**, **King Charles** commissioned Kirke to make a return trip the next year in order to fulfill that goal: And when Kirke returned in the spring of 1629 **surrender was the only option**. The Kirkes bombarded the French for fourteen-to-fifteen hours. When their supply of gunpowder ran out, **Admiral Roquemont** surrendered. The surrender of the French fleet yielded a great deal of plunder for Kirke, and this alone made his expedition a tremendous success. All the **residents of Nouveau France were deported** back to the mother country and **Québec became an English post**.

Upon his return to France Champlain learned *that* the war had ended before Kirke took Québec, making the seizure illegal. Champlain lobbied for the return of Nouveau France, but *did not succeed until the signing of the Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye* in 1632, whence Québec and Acadia were returned to the **Company of One Hundred Associates**. Champlain returned to Canada the next year to oversee the establishment of substantial French settlements (before his death in 1635).

As a consolation, Kirke was knighted in 1633, later becoming Governor of Newfoundland.

There were **three battles in Nova Scotia** during the colonization of Scots: one at St. John; another battle at Baleine (Cape Breton); and one on Cape Sable Island, inhabited by the **Mi'kmaq** who knew it as **Kespoogwitk** meaning "land's end." In 1629, as a result of these Scottish victories, Cape Sable was the only major French holding in North America. There was a battle between French Governor of Acadia **Charles Étienne de la Tour** and his father at **Fort St-Louis** - the latter supporting the Scottish who had taken Port Royal. The battle lasted two days. Claude was forced to withdraw in humiliation to Port Royal.

On 1 July 1629 seventy Scots under the leadership of **Sir James Stewart, 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Ochiltree of Killeith**, landed at **Baleine** (Cape Breton Island), probably encouraged by **Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinar** who was one of the first to embark in *the scheme for the establishment of colonies in America*, having on 8 November 1621 obtained a charter of what was called the **barony of Galloway in Nova Scotia**. **Charles Daniel** arrived with 53 men and numerous friendly natives. He captured two shallops manned by fishermen from *Rosemar*, and imprisoned them. On 10 September 1629 he approached the fort and assured the Scots he was coming in peace. The French *then attacked by bombarding the fort with cannon fire from the ships and a land assault*. Daniel was a harsh captor: He ordered Ochiltree and his company to demolish their fort and forced the prisoners to Grand Cibou (*present-day Englishtown*). There Daniel had Ochiltree and his men construct a new fort, **Fort Ste-Anne**. Then he sailed the prisoners to France, where Ochiltree was thrown in jail for a month.

**William Alexander, 1st Earl of Stirling** son of Alexander of Menstrie and Marion, daughter of an Allan Coultie established the first incarnation of "**New Scotland**" at Port Royal, Nova Scotia. Lord Stirling's efforts at colonization

were not successful, at least in monetary terms - the effort cost him most of his fortune, and when the region—now Canada's three Maritime Provinces and the state of Maine—was returned to France in 1632, it was lost.

From 1629 to 1635 Champlain was commander of the **Compagnie des Cent-Associés** in Nouveau France. Under the **Ancien Régime** in France, *every community was governed by a seigneur and provided with a priest plus a magistrate* which was appointed only with the seigneur's and priest's concurrence. The charter *also* required the Company to bring **an average of 160 settlers** to Nouveau France over the next twenty five years and to support their settlement for the first three years. It was granted **a monopoly of the fur-trade**, and colonists not maintained by the Company were **free to barter with the Indians** on condition they sell their furs to the Company.

By 1631 the company had to find new investors willing to accept the risks. In order to attract people and capital, the company had to allocate portions of its trading monopoly to new subsidiary companies. These subsidiary partners were made up of wealthy members of the elite from various parts of France. *Nevertheless, over the ensuing two decades this concept too had very limited success and France turned its attention to more important things in 1635 when it joined the Thirty Years' War in Europe.*

*Discontent with settlers in Québec over the company's total control of the fur trade caused numerous problems and matters worsened during the 1650s when war with the Iroquois severely hampered the fur trade and threatened continued colonization. Unable to deal with the numerous and ongoing difficulties, in 1663 the company surrendered its charter.*

In 1632, **Isaac de Razilly**- a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem became involved, at the request of **Cardinal de Richelieu**, in the colonization of Acadia. Razilly was to take possession of the **Habitation at Port-Royal** (now Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) and develop it into a French colony: (One of his able lieutenants in Acadia was **Charles de Menou d'Aulnay** (v.i.) that was instrumental in maintaining the shipping to and from France). To deal with a shortage of funds, a company was set up by Razilly and some of his friends which became known as the **Razilly-Condonnier company**. Together with the **Compagnie de la Nouvelle France**, an expedition was outfitted to sail to Acadia. The King gave Razilly the official title of lieutenant-general of Nouveau France.

The **Nipmuck** people of central Massachusetts and the adjacent portions of Connecticut and Rhode Island **first encountered Europeans in 1630**, when **John Acquittamaug** arrived with maize to sell to the starving colonists of Boston: In return for this courtesy *the colonists introduced pathogens*, such as **smallpox**, to which *the Native Americans had no prior exposure*. They were *also exposed to alcohol for the first time*, which led to huge numbers of natives succumbing to the effects of **alcoholism**. *With the passage of increasingly harsh laws against Indian culture and religion, the loss of land, legally and illegally, to growing English colonies, many of the Nipmuc joined Metacomet's rebellion in 1675 - the results of which were disastrous. Many of the Nipmuc were interned on Deer Island in Boston Harbor and perished, and others were executed or sold into slavery in the West Indies.*

### The Pequot War

**The Dutch and the English from Western Europe** were *also striving to extend the reach of their trade* into the North American interior to achieve dominance in the lush, fertile region. The colonies were new at the time, the original settlements having been founded in the 1620s. In the 1630s, the **Connecticut River Valley** was in turmoil. The **Pequots** aggressively extended their area of control at the expense of the **Wampanoags** to the north, the **Narragansetts** to the east, the **Algonquians** and **Mohegans** to the west, and the **Lenape Algonquian people** of Long Island to the south. The **tribes contended for political dominance and control of the European fur trade**. Moreover, **a series of epidemics** over the course of the previous three decades had severely reduced the Indian populations, and there was **a power vacuum** in the area as a result.

Beginning in the early 1630s, *a series of contributing factors* increased the **tensions between English colonists and the tribes** of southeastern New England. Efforts to control fur trade access resulted in *a series of escalating incidents and attacks* that increased tensions on both sides. Political divisions widened between the Pequots and Mohegans as they aligned with different trade sources - the **Mohegans with the English** and the **Pequots with the Dutch**: (The peace did not last between the Dutch and Pequots, *though*). The Pequots assaulted a tribe of Indians who had tried to trade in the area of **Hartford**. Tensions grew as the **Massachusetts Bay Colony** became **a stronghold for wampum production**, which the Narragansetts and Pequots had controlled up until the mid-1630s.

The Quakers took in the beliefs of others unlike the Puritans. A similarity between the two groups was their reason for coming to America. They both hoped to create a society that would be perfect and would purify the Christian religion.

Adding to the tensions, **John Stone** (English rogue, smuggler, and privateer) and *about seven of his crew were murdered* (in 1634) by the *Niantics*, western tributary clients of the *Pequots*. According to the *Pequots'* later explanations, they murdered him *in reprisal for the Dutch murdering the principal Pequot sachem Tatobem* (q.v.), and *they claimed to be unaware that Stone was English and not Dutch*: (Contemporaneous accounts claim that the *Pequots* knew Stone to be English). In the earlier incident, *Tatobem* had boarded a Dutch vessel to trade; instead of conducting trade, *the Dutch seized the sachem and appealed for a substantial amount of ransom for his safe return*. The *Pequots* quickly sent bushels of wampum, but received only *Tatobem's* dead body in return. Stone was from the West Indies and had been banished from Boston for malfeasance, including drunkenness, adultery, and piracy. He was known to have powerful connections in other colonies, *as well as in London*, and *he was expected to use them against the Boston colony*. Setting sail from Boston, *Stone abducted two Western Niantic men*, forcing them to show him the way up the Connecticut River. Soon after, he and his crew were suddenly attacked and killed by a larger group of Western Niantic. The initial reactions in Boston varied from indifference to outright joy at Stone's death, but the colonial officials later decided to protest the killing. They did not accept the *Pequots'* excuses that they had been unaware of Stone's nationality. Pequot sachem Sassacus sent some wampum to atone for the killing, but refused the colonists' demands that the warriors responsible for Stone's death be turned over to them for trial and punishment.

Additionally, the **Great Colonial Hurricane of 1635** which brushed Virginia and then passed over southeastern New England in August of that year placed *a great deal of pressure on the corn and other crop harvests*, making food supplies scarce, *thus creating conditions for much greater competition for winter food supplies for several years afterwards* throughout much of coastal Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. This, *in turn*, precipitated *even greater tensions between the Pequots and English colonists who were ill-prepared to face periods of famine.. Accounts of the storm are very limited, but it was likely the most intense hurricane to hit New England since European colonization*.

By 1636, *the Dutch had fortified their trading post, and the English had built a trading fort at Saybrook, Connecticut. English Puritans from the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies settled at the four recently established river towns of Windsor (1632), Wethersfield (1633), Hartford (1635), and Springfield (1636)*.

A more proximate cause of the war was *the killing of a respected trader named John Oldham, an early Puritan settler* who was attacked on a trading voyage to Block Island. On 20 July 1636, *he and his five crewmen were killed, his two young nephews were captured and his ship's cargo looted by Narragansett-allied Indians* who sought to discourage English settlers from trading with their Pequot rivals. A fishing vessel rescued the nephews and tried to tow his sloop to port, but adverse winds affected them. They scuttled the ship but brought home the two boys

In the weeks that followed, colonial officials from Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut assumed that the *Narragansetts* were the *likely* culprits. The Puritan officials knew *that* the Indians of Block Island were allies of the *Eastern Niantics*, who were allied with the *Narragansetts*, and they became suspicious of the *Narragansetts*. The *Narragansetts* convinced the colonists *that the Pequot people were responsible for Oldham killing...* the murderers hadst *meanwhile* escaped and were given sanctuary with the *Pequots*. Although Oldham was known for his difficult ways - and may have provoked the fight that killed him - ministers across Massachusetts condemned the murders. The Bay Colony was outraged and Massachusetts Governor **John Endecott**<sup>25</sup> was ordered to retaliate at this latest incident

<sup>25</sup> **John Endecott**, regarded as *one of the Fathers of New England*, was a zealous and somewhat-hotheaded Puritan with *Separatist attitudes toward the Anglican Church*. This *sometimes* put him at odds with *Nonconformist views* that were dominant among the colony's early leaders, which became apparent when *he gave shelter to the vocally Separatist Roger Williams*. Endecott *also* argued that *women should dress modestly and that men should keep their hair short, and issued judicial decisions banishing individuals who held religious views that did not accord well with those of the Puritans*. He notoriously *defaced the English flag because he saw St George's Cross as a symbol of the papacy, and put four Quakers put to death* for returning to the colony after their banishment.

Endecott was *chosen to lead the first expedition for the New World* aboard the *Abigail* with fifty or so "planters and servants" on 20 June 1628. The settlement they organized was first called *Naumkeag*, after the local Indian tribe, but was eventually renamed **Salem** in 1629. The area was already occupied by settlers of *the failed Dorchester Company*, some of whose backers *also* participated in the *New England Company*. This group of earlier settlers, led by **Roger Conant**, had migrated from a settlement on Cape Ann (near present-day Gloucester, Massachusetts) after it was abandoned.

## La Compagnie de Cent-Associés

In July 1640, **Charles de St-Étienne de La Tour** and **Charles de Menou d'Aulnay de Charnisay** (v.s.) *cousin of famous sailors and explorers: Isaac de Razilly, Claude de Launay-Razilly and François de Razilly, Commandeur de la Commanderie de l'Île Bouchard (Touraine)*, began *a series of violent and costly confrontations* that would last for the next five years. La Tour attacked Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal) with two armed ships. D'Aulnay's captain was killed, while La Tour and his men were forced to surrender. In response to the attack, d'Aulnay sailed out of Port-Royal to establish a blockade of La Tour's fort *at present-day St. John*. By 1641 La Tour had lost Cape Sable Island, Pentagouet (*Castine, Maine*), and Port Royal to Governor of Acadia Charles de Menou d'Aulnay.

Hostilities continued to escalate and by 1642 *d'Aulnay managed to get La Tour charged with treason and disrespect to the French Crown*. Knowing he would be imprisoned if he were to return to France, La Tour sent his wife **Françoise-Marie Jacquelin** *supposed daughter of an actress/businesswoman in Paris and a doctor*, to advocate on his behalf, which she did skillfully. She was allowed to return to Acadia with a warship to help her husband defend himself.

In 1643, *La Tour attempted the capture of Penobscot*. Although the commander-in-chief of the vessels hired at Boston could not be persuaded to make any assault upon d'Aulnay – yet, thirty of the New England men went voluntarily with La Tour's men and drove some of d'Aulnay's force from a mill where they had fortified themselves. His *Puritan and Huguenot troops* killed three, wounded seven, burned a mill and some standing corn, slaughtered livestock and seized 18,000 livres of furs, gunpowder and other supplies... but did not attack the fort, which was defended by twenty soldiers...*however*, receiving fire from d'Aulnay - three of La Tour's men were wounded; they went on board their vessels, going on to attack d'Aulnay at Port-Royal, where they broke the blockade. Thus La Tour was unsuccessful in catching d'Aulnay - and the rivalry continued for several more years.

The *Compagnie des Habitants* or *Communauté des Habitants* was formed by merchants of Nouveau France in 1645 at Québec - and possessed the monopoly of the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*. But, in exchange for *the monopoly of trade* (this right exercised on all the territory not conceded to particular companies and thus to the limits of the *Miscou trade*) the *Compagnie des Habitants* were obligated to:

- take charge of financing the colony and assume the settlement, i.e. to pass 20 people for free each year (+ two men for the company's affairs fed at the expense of the Community).
- recover the debts owed to the Cent-Associés and pay for the ships, ammunition and food belonging to the Cent-Associés at a price set by France + 25% because of the risks of the sea.
- pay 1000 weight of beaver / year to the Cent-Associés which sublet its monopoly to all the French established in the country.
- pay the expenses for the maintenance of clergy, governors, lieutenants, captains, soldiers and garrisons.
- moreover, the surpluses were to go back to the community.

Amongst the 59 Directors of the *Compagnie des Habitants* **Jean Bourdon**, engineer, surveyor; seigneur **François Chavigny de Bercheray**; seigneur and lieutenant governor of Montmagny (noble); **Guillaume Couillard**, seigneur and bourgeois; **Mathurin Gagnon**, merchant; **Robert Giffard** seigneur and master-surgeon; **Jean-Paul Godefroy**, former interpreter; **Jean Godefroy de Linctot**, seigneur **Jean Guyon**, seigneur, master builder; **Noël Juchereau des Chastelets**, "counselor of the law"; **Pierre Legardeur de Repentigny**, lieutenant governor of Montmagny (nobleman); **Jacques Leneuf de la Poterie**, commander at Trois-Rivières (noble); **Michel Leneuf du Hérisson**, lord (noble).

## The Acadian Civil War

Founding member **Jean de Lauzon or de Lauson**, a prominent lawyer in France, had been developing interests in the colony of Nouveau France. Lauzon used his influence within the company to obtain land for himself and his sons in the colony. By 1640, *the Lauzons had become the biggest landowners in the colony*. Their properties included the *Island of Montréal* and *Île d'Orléans*.

On Easter Sunday, 13 April 1645, while *La Tour was in Boston seeking reinforcements and drumming up more support for his cause*, d'Aulnay retaliated by seizing all of La Tour's possessions and outposts, especially Fort La Tour at St. John and Cap de Sable. In the *Battle of St. John*, La Tour's wife, **Françoise-Marie Jacquelin**, who became known as *le Lioness of La Tour*, defended the fort for three days. On the fourth day despite losing 33 men, d'Aulnay was able to breach the fort. Thus, after five days of battle, on April

18<sup>th</sup>, *d'Aulnay offered quarter to all* if valiant Françoise-Marie would surrender the fort. On that basis, knowing she was badly outnumbered, she capitulated... and *d'Aulnay captured La Tour's Fort Ste-Marie*. D'Aulnay, *though*, then *reneged on his pledge of safety for the defenders* and *treacherously hanged the La Tour garrison* – forcing *Françoise-Marie to watch with a rope around her own neck*. Three weeks later she (age 24) died while a prisoner. Upon learning of his wife's tragic death, and the loss of all his possessions, La Tour sought refuge at *Chateau St-Louis (Québec City)*<sup>26</sup> where he was welcomed by **Governor Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny** – *the first person to bear the title of Governor of Nouveau France, succeeding Champlain, who governed the colony as Lieutenant General of Nouveau France* – and d'Aulnay became the sole governor of Acadia.

Nouveau France had been without a bishop for the first 50 years of its settlement. During this time, *spiritual matters were often left up to the colony religious officials to regulate, with authority moving from the Récollets to the Jesuits*. Only in 1646, due to pressures from Rome, did the **Archbishop of Rouen** become officially recognized as the immediate authority over the **Church in Nouveau France**. Even with this recognition, the archbishop's authority continued to extend only so far as granting faculties to clergy traveling to the colony. By this time it had already become clear that Nouveau France was in need of a more immediate ecclesiastical presence.

During the next four years while in exile, Charles de *La Tour continued in the fur trade, assisted the Jesuits in their missionary efforts, and occasionally fought with the Hurons against the Iroquois*. In 1654, **Colonel Robert Sedgwick** led *one hundred New England volunteers and two hundred of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers - the first professional English soldiers sent to North America* – to capture Port Royal (Nova Scotia). Sedgwick captured and plundered *present day Castine, Maine* and La Tour's fort on the St. John River... taking him prisoner.

The defenders of Port-Royal numbered only about 130. After resisting the English landings and defending the fort during a short siege, *the outnumbered Acadians surrendered* after negotiating terms that allowed French inhabitants who wished to remain to keep their property and religion. Soldiers and officials were given transport to France while the majority of Port-Royal residents remained unharmed. However, in *violation of the surrender terms, Sedgwick's men rampaged through the Port-Royal monastery, smashing windows, doors, paneling and even the floor boards before burning the monastery and the newly constructed Port Royal church*. The English occupied Acadia for the next 16 years with a small garrison, leaving the Acadian residents mostly undisturbed.

In 1650, *d'Aulnay died when his canoe capsized*. La Tour promptly returned to France to plead his case and was successfully rehabilitated in the royal favor, *as well as having his property and his commission as governor restored*. He returned to Acadia in 1653, along with several new colonist families including **Philippe Mius, sieur d'Entremont**,<sup>27</sup> *baron de Pobomcoup, protonotaire du roi et lieutenant-major et commandant des troupes - to whom he awarded one of the few fiefs to constitute territory in North America*. In an effort to bring an end to the rivalry between the La Tour and d'Aulnay faction, La Tour married a third time to **Jeanne Motin**, widow of his former enemy on 24 February 1653.

Now, in early-May 1660, *seventeen men of the French colonial militia, along with forty of their Huron and four Algonquin allies fought the Battle of Long Sault against 200 Iroquois and Seneca warriors, along with several Huron slaves*, which fought alongside their captors over a five-day period. When the Seneca chief fell dead, a few Frenchmen fought their way out of the fort to his body, *cut his head off and placed it on the palisade*. A canoe was sent up the river to *another war party of 500 warriors*, who were on their way to sack Ville-Marie; abandoning the advance, these savages proceeded to Long Sault, where, with knives and axes, they hacked a breach through the fort's walls and started pouring in while others climbed on top of the structure for the attack. Standing atop one of the walls, **Adam Dollard des Ormeaux**, 25-year-old commander of Ville-Marie's garrison, ignited *a keg of*

*gunpowder* which he intended to throw over the wall onto the Iroquois but when the bomb left his hands, it struck the palisade and exploded within the fort, killing or wounding many of the defenders. When the Iroquois were finally inside, Dollard, *Etienne Annahotaha* and *Chief Mituvemeg*, and the others were quickly overpowered. Four Frenchmen were found alive: three of them were seriously wounded and burned alive (i.e. tortured) within the fort, and the fourth was taken prisoner before being tortured and killed later on.

## The Beaver Wars

The **Mohawk**, an Iroquois nation based in what is now New York, were *trading with the Dutch and English*, and resented *French efforts to interrupt the trade*. On 30 March 1644, the situation came to a head when the French were ambushed by 250 Iroquois in the woods. **Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve**,<sup>28</sup> founder of **Ville Marie (now Montréal)**, “killed their chief with his bare hands” – but the wars with the Iroquois continued.

**Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge** *son of Antoine d'Ailleboust and Suzanne Hotman*, chief executive of furs in Nouveau France, a difficult task where he was able to spare the conflicting interests of this company and *la Grande Compagnie*, arrived at **Ville-Marie** in 1643 – and *he played a leading role there; he was an acting governor of Montréal*. After being named governor in 1648, *he tried in vain to prevent the Iroquois from annihilating most of the Hurons*, who had allied themselves with the French settlers, leaving very few of them in the area of Ville-Marie.

In 1649, *the Iroquois launched the “Beaver Wars”* to take control of the fur trade by eliminating the other middlemen, which embroiled them in conflict with the French. They destroyed the **Wendat (Huron) nation**, whose homeland, **Wendake** (*in what is now southern Ontario*) being bordered on three sides by **Lake Ontario**, **Lake Simcoe** and **Georgian Bay**, and it was through Wendake *that the Ojibwa and Cree who lived further north traded with the French*. The destruction of the Wendats destabilized the fur trade for the French; *however*, the Ottawa took the place of the Wendat as the middlemen bringing furs from the northern lands to Montréal.

During the Beaver Wars (1640–1701), the Iroquois repeatedly invaded **Innu territories** from areas near the Great Lakes, enslaving women and young warriors, and plundering their hunting grounds in search of more furs. Since these raids were made by the Iroquois with unprecedented brutality the Innu *themselves adopted the torment, torture, and cruelty of their enemies*. The *Naskapi, on the other hand, were usually in conflicts with the southward advancing Inuit* in the east.

Moreover, in 1649, *Jesuit missionaries St-Jean de Brébeuf and St-Gabriel Lalemant* were captured when *an Iroquois raid took over a Huron village (St-Louis)*. Together with their *Huron converts*, the missionaries were taken to the *occupied village of Taenhatenteron (St-Ignace)* in **Huronnia**, where they were *ritually tortured and killed* on 16 March 1649.

The **Compagnie des Cent-Associés** barely hung on against *the Iroquois onslaught, with Native war parties interpreting canoes carrying furs to Montréal, cutting off French forts, raiding French settlements* along the banks of the St-Lawrence river and *carrying off captives, and sometimes laying out iron chains they had obtained from the Dutch to blockade the St-Lawrence to prevent ships from using the river*.

In 1653, *Jean de Lauzon negotiated a peace treaty with the Mohawk*. It *ended their attacks on French settlers* and reduced the threat to the colony for some years. Afterward, he accorded to himself the *monopoly on the fur trade*; settlers sought to open the trade by petitioning **King Louis XIV**. The king responded by ordering the fur trade to be reopened to all colonists.

In 1656, the **Société de Montréal** had determined to establish a seminary in the colony of Ville-Marie, for *the training of missionaries to the indigenous people of America*. French Catholic priest and the founder of the Suplicians, **Jean-Jacques Olier SS**, himself a member of the society, nominated his trusted assistant **Abbé Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus SS** *son of a wealthy nobleman*, the first superior of St-Sulpice – *the second oldest structure in Montréal*, who had already successfully founded four such schools. Given de Queylus' large fortune and his characteristic generosity, it seemed even more of a natural choice for an enterprise which would require all the resources that could be found. Some members of the society further proposed *that the*

<sup>26</sup> The official residence of the French Governor of Nouveau France – and later the British Governor of Québec, the Governor-General of British North America, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada.

<sup>27</sup> **Philippe Mius, sieur d'Entremont** *son of Claude Antoine Mius de Montmuran, Sieur d'Albon (son of Nicholas Mius, Governor of Marseilles who died with Huguenot martyr Admiral Gaspard II de Coligny at the St-Bartholomew Day Massacre, and Jeanne de Meullon) and Béatrice Coligny d'Entremont (daughter of Gaspard II de Coligny, comte de Coligny - son of Gaspard I, comte de Coligny et Marshal de Châtillon and Louise Marie de Montmorency) and Jacqueline de Montbel d'Entremont*.

<sup>28</sup> **M. de Maisonneuve** *son of Louis de Chomedey, seigneur of Chavane, Germenoy-en-Brie, and his second wife Marie de Thomelin, daughter of Ambroise d'Aulquoy and Jean de Thomelin, a king's counsellor and a treasurer of France in the generality of Champagne was godfather of the first white child baptized at Ville Marie. She was Pauline Hébert daughter of Adrienne Du Vivier and fur-trader Augustin Hébert, who had come to Montréal in 1648 with Maisonneuve and their elder daughter Jeanne*.

candidate should be a bishop. Queylus gave his consent to both proposals. His nomination was declared at the General Assembly of the French clergy held on 10 January 1657.

The *Jesuits*, who had complete control of the colony, objected and put forth an alternate candidate - **Saint Francis-Xavier de Montmorency-Laval MEP**, commonly referred to as **François de Laval**,<sup>29</sup> who enjoyed the favor of the royal court. This turn of events was to rankle de Queylus for much of his time in Nouveau France, but he accepted the decision of the society and prepared for his departure for the New World. For the mission, Olier also appointed two other priests, *Dominique Galinier* and *Gabriel Souart*, and a deacon, *Antoine d'Allet*.

Laval's nomination as a bishop for Nouveau France was the result of *increasing tensions regarding the ecclesiastical state of the colony*. Appointing a bishop proved difficult; it was a contentious issue, particularly between the *Jesuits* and the newly arrived *Sulpicians*. The Jesuits, who by this time were quite accustomed to working independently, feared being controlled by a Sulpician bishop. Their uneasiness stemmed from beliefs that a Sulpician bishop would undermine their control, and eventually lead to the *subordination of the Church to the Crown*. While the Sulpicians were busy proposing one of their own, *Abbé Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus*, as bishop, the Jesuits turned their support to Laval. With the assistance of *Queen Mother Anne of Austria*, obtaining royal approval provided little challenge.

What remained an obstacle for the Jesuits and Laval was procuring a *papal confirmation*. The *Holy See* remained reserved regarding Laval's nomination. Much of Rome's delay in coming to a decision involved the *Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*. They agreed with the Jesuits that *a bishop was needed*, however, they feared that Laval as bishop would enable the Jesuits to once again hold *a monopoly over the colony*. In a *compromise between the Jesuits and the Holy See*, Laval would be appointed the *Apostolic Vicar of Nouveau France*. Making Nouveau France into *an apostolic vicariate*, rather than a diocese, guaranteed that the head, in this case Laval, answered to the pope rather than the leaders of the Church in France, giving the pope some jurisdiction in the colony. Along with being made vicar apostolic, Laval would be ordained a bishop *in partibus*,<sup>30</sup> giving him the power he needed to build the Church in Canada.

On 17 May 1657, at St-Nazaire, Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve and Louis d'Ailleboust, as well as three Sulpicians (*Abbé Gabriel Souart*,<sup>31</sup> Antoine d'Allet, and Dominique Galinier) under the leadership of *Abbé Queylus*, boarded the ship bound for Canada. The travelers, after a stormy crossing, landed on the Île d'Orléans on July 29<sup>th</sup>. In the middle of August the four Sulpicians, whom the Jesuits had kept as their guests for a few days in their residence, settled down at Ville-Marie.

<sup>29</sup> Laval was a member of the *Montmorency family* and was *one of the most influential men of his day*. He was a *candidate for canonization by the Catholic Church after his death* and was *beatified in 1980 by Pope John Paul II*. On 3 April 2014, *Pope Francis made him a saint by "equipollent canonization"*. His father, *Hugues de Laval*, a member of the *House of Laval*, was the *Seigneur of Montigny, Montboudry, Alaincourt et Revercourt*. His mother, *Michelle de Péricard* was from a *family of hereditary officers of the Crown in Normandy*: (Throughout his life, Laval's mother continuously served as an example of piety and encouraged him to be charitable to those who were less fortunate). Despite his noble descent, his parents were not considered to be wealthy. Laval had five other brothers and two sisters; two of these siblings would also pursue religious paths in life. His youngest brother, *Henri*, entered the *Benedictine Order* and his sister, *Anne Charlotte*, entered the *Congregation of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament*.

Laval continued to collaborate with the colony's high religious authorities, until his very last days. He helped the poor with his presence and his gifts of charity. *He never missed a Mass or a day of fasting*, despite his ever-declining health. By 1707, he had developed *an ulcer* which eventually took his life on 6 May 1708. His body was placed in a coffin in the cathedral; *however his heart was kept in the chapel of the seminary* to which he had dedicated most of his life and fortune.

<sup>30</sup> A Titular See in various churches is an Episcopal See of a former diocese that no longer functions, sometimes called a "dead diocese."

<sup>31</sup> *Abbé Gabriel Souart* was a Sulpician priest and the nephew of *Père Joseph Le Caron OMR*. He is most often remembered in Canadian history as the first parish priest of Montréal.

Souart entered the priesthood later in life, having previously studied and practiced medicine. He became a priest in 1650 and was sent to Nouveau France to help found the *Séminaire de Montréal*. At the same time he began to organize the parish which had previously been ministered to by the Jesuits as a group since 1642. He also acted as an able replacement for his superior, *Abbé Queylus*, chaplain of the Notre-Dame congregation and Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal.

While small in size, the colony still provided *a number of challenges to Laval*. He found himself having to make concessions where he never thought to before to a population that, while scarce, was spread out, and was less inclined to continue under strict church discipline. Additionally, he had to deal with *Sulpician Abbé de Queylus*, who had already been operating in the colony as *Vicar General*, under the authority of the *Archbishop of Rouen*, who continued to claim complete ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colony. Queylus continued to assert his own authority for nearly two years, during which time Laval repeatedly had to appeal both to the king and to the Holy See for support.

On 3 June 1658 in Rome, the *papal bulls appointing Laval as vicar apostolic were signed*. Laval became the *Bishop of Petraea in partibus infidelium* ("in the lands of the unbelievers"). On 8 December 1658, in the *Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés* in Paris, Laval was consecrated the *Vicar Apostolic of Québec* by the *papal nuncio*, *Cardinal Celio Piccolomini*. Laval took an *oath of loyalty to the king* and sailed from La Rochelle for Nouveau France on 13 April 1659. On June 16<sup>th</sup> of that year he arrived at Québec. Immediately upon his arrival Laval began his work; on the same day his ship docked, he baptized a young Huron and gave a dying man his last sacraments.

By 1660, the *total population of Nouveau France* was 3035, with about 1928 being French. There were about 900 people living in *Québec City* and about 200 each in *Montréal* and *Trois-Rivières*, and the rest spread out in *small settlements along the St-Lawrence*. The White population of Nouveau France was 63% male - most being engaged in the fur trade. The *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* fulfilled the terms of its royal charter to bring settlers to Nouveau France, but most were *engagés (indentured laborers)* who left at the end of their *five-year contracts*. The *harsh winters*, the *shortage of White women*, and the *threat of being carried off by the Iroquois* led to very few Frenchmen wanting to stay, and unable to build the population, the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* simply lacked the manpower to counter the Iroquois - as France was fully engaged in a *war with Spain* that did not end until 1659... additionally, France was caught in *a series of civil wars* known as "*le Fronde*" in the 1650s, and with Frenchmen busy killing each other, it was inconceivable to send a force across the Atlantic to Nouveau France.

But even after the *Peace of the Pyrenees* ended the war with Spain (in 1659), the Crown remained indifferent to Nouveau France. In 1661, *Pierre Boucher*, the *governor of Trois-Rivières*, visited Paris to beg for help, saying that people in Trois-Rivières were afraid to go outside without a weapon lest they be carried off by the Iroquois, only to be politely told that the responsibility of the defense of the colony rested with the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés*, not the Crown. Unable to turn a profit with the "Beaver Wars" raging, *the Compagnie des Cent-Associés went bankrupt* in 1663 and Nouveau France became a Crown colony ruled directly by the French state. The immediate concern of *King Louis XIV* was to make the new Crown colony turn a profit, which would require ending the Iroquois threat.

Laval struggled a great deal throughout his career to defend *the church's power against state intrusion*. Upon his arrival, Laval was adamant in asserting his primacy over the governor. He was immediately in opposition with *Governor d'Argenson*, particularly regarding ceremony and protocol. Also, *the issue of selling alcohol to the natives* furthered fueled their feud. Laval believed that *intoxicated natives were an embarrassment to the colony and endangered the lives of those around them*. He quickly imposed the *threat of excommunication* on those who continued to deal in this trade. Governor d'Argenson abhorred this action, deeming it *an intrusion of church into state affairs*. D'Argenson soon resigned and was replaced by *d'Avaugour*, who, in order to avoid any conflict with Laval, decreed *harsh penalties against anyone caught selling alcohol to the natives*. Again, Laval was displeased, believing that *excommunication was a far more humane consequence*. When alcohol was again being sold freely to natives, in a moment of despair over the state of Nouveau France, Laval departed for France in August 1662 to consult with *King Louis XIV* on the matter. Laval succeeded in bringing about d'Avaugour's recall the following year.

When Laval returned to Nouveau France he had increased powers. Louis XIV had assured Laval that he would have a future appointment as bishop, requesting he establish a *Sovereign Council* in Quebec, and even asked Laval to choose Nouveau France's next governor. For governor, Laval chose *Chevalier de Mézy*, a friend from his time at the *Hermitage of Caen*. In the developing Sovereign Council, which held its first session 18 September 1663, Mézy represented the first figure of authority, followed by Laval, and *Gaudais-Dupon*, commissioner. Laval appointed Mézy hoping to have an ally among high-ranking state official. In the trade of alcohol to the natives he did find in



Mézy an ally; together the two forbade the trading of alcohol. However, constituting the Sovereign Council revealed that the two represented **conflicting interests in matters of church and state**. Soon, another conflict between Laval and governor ensued, leading Laval to take to the streets with drums to tell his version of the feud. Upon Mézy's death, the Sovereign Council was reorganized. **Intendant Jean Talon** was added, and immediately assumed the functions previously exercised by Laval. With this change in the council Laval began to attend the council's meetings less frequently; from then on Laval retreated somewhat from state affairs and focused purely on ecclesiastical matters.

As bishop, Laval was arguably one of the ultimate sources of authority in Nouveau France. However, his dream was not only to expand the Catholic Church in Nouveau France, but *also* to train and teach its future leaders. On 26 March 1663, the **Grand Séminaire** was opened at Québec, and *thus* the **Séminaire de Québec** was born. Its main goal was to train missionary priests and it was affiliated with Laval's own institution, the **Séminaire des Missions Étrangères**, in Paris.

### The Carignan-Salières Regiment

The *charter of the Company of One Hundred Associates was cancelled* and the old **Council of Québec** (formed in 1647), reorganized and became the **Sovereign Council**. The Sovereign Council was *composed of the governor, the bishop, the Intendant, an attorney-general, a secretary, and five councilors*. Its functions included general jurisdiction for the administration of justice in civil and criminal matters, and the questions of police, roads, finance, and trade.

In 1664, following the request of the Sovereign Council, the French finance minister **Jean-Baptiste Colbert**, *Minister of Finances of France under the rule of King Louis XIV*, ordered the **Carignan-Salières** to reinforce the existing 100 man force in Nouveau France. This reinforcement was as much, if not more, motivated by mercantile ambitions rather than actual cries for help from the colony.

In 1665 the French entered into agreements with the **Oneida** and **Onondaga** nations of the **Iroquois Confederacy**, who were there to represent themselves as well as the **Cayugas** and the **Senecas**. Tracy interpreted *the Mohawk absence* as signaling a threat of intimidation (v.i.)...

The **Carignan-Salières Regiment** was a **Piedmont French military unit** formed by merging two other regiments in 1659: the **Balthazar Regiment**, formed during the **Thirty Years' War** and becoming the Salières when Balthazar died in 1665, and the **Carignan Regiment**, formed in 1644 in Piedmont. They were led by the new Governor General, **Daniel de Rémy de Courcelles**, **Sieur de Montigny**, **de La Fresnaye et de Courcelle**, and **Lieutenant General Alexandre de Prouville**, **Sieur de Tracy**. Approximately 1200 men (Piedmont, Savoyard and Ligurian) arrived in Nouveau France the middle of 1665.

**Sieur de Courcelles** was instrumental in upgrading the judicial procedures of the colony along with **Intendant Jean Talon**, **Count d'Orsainville** *son of Philippe Talon and Anne Marie de Bury* and, acting on the orders of Louis XIV, he *established militia units in Nouveau France*. This militia would be *instrumental in the colony's future wars*. Talon had been appointed by King Louis XIV and Colbert, his minister, to serve as the **Intendant of Justice, Public Order and Finances in Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland**. [*Jean Talon saved the colony from destitution through the implementation of policies that cultivated agriculture, colonization, trade, industry and naval construction; more-so, he strengthened the foundation on which justice and government was placed... and, with a strong outlook into the future, he prepared the way for the future extension and growth of New France.*]

The arrival of the first companies of the regiment at one stroke increased the population of Québec City by 25%, and an immediate problem was building housing for the newly arrived soldiers who at first had to camp out in tents outside Québec City. They were welcomed as saviours, particularly by **Marie de l'Incarnation O.S.U.** (Marie Guyart daughter of Jeanne Michelet and Florent Guyart),<sup>32</sup> head of the Ursuline convent, who wrote of their arrival:

The ships have all arrived, bringing us the rest of the army, along with the most eminent persons whom the king has sent to the aid of the country. They feared they would all perish in the storms they braved on their voyage... we are

helping them to understand that this is a holy war, where the only things that matter are the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

But **François Dollier de Casson**,<sup>33</sup> the Sulpician priest in Montréal, reacted to the soldiers negatively, saying:

"Vices which have, in fact, risen and grown here since that time [when the troops arrived], along with many other troubles and misfortunes which had not up to that time made their appearance here."

The regiment's service in Nouveau France began when a third of them were ordered to build *new forts along the Richelieu River*, the principal route of the Iroquois marauders. **Fort Chambly** (formerly known as **Fort St-Louis**),<sup>34</sup> **Fort Ste-Thérèse**, and **Fort St-Jean** at St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, were along the Richelieu River and were constructed so as to limit Iroquois attacks on the people of Nouveau France. And **Fort Ste-Anne** was constructed on **Lake Champlain** near the river's source. All of the forts were used as supply stations for the troops as they were deployed on their two campaigns into Iroquois nation land in 1666. The first invasion force - of 400 or 500 men - was led by de Courcelle. But his men were *greatly outnumbered by the Iroquois* and were forced to withdraw before any significant action could take place. Although the invasion was abortive, they took **Chief Canaqueese** prisoner.

Tracy agreed to the campaign after the Mohawks had refused to send a delegation to the Iroquois nations and French leaders in Montréal in November 1665 (v.s.). The men left 30 January 1666 under the orders of Courcelles, despite the fact *that their Native guides had not yet arrived*. Indeed, this campaign also differed greatly from the European tradition of not campaigning in winter: (The men were ill-equipped—many left the fort without snowshoes—which contributed significantly to the campaign's death toll). The campaign was made up of *about five hundred men of regimental soldiers, a number of Indians, and an estimated 200 volunteer habitants*. The column ended up getting lost, wandering in the wilderness for three weeks before ending up on the outskirts of the **Anglo-Dutch settlement of Schenectady**. The soldiers came across the village and, assuming it to be Mohawk, launched a brutal attack, ravaging the village and killing two and severely wounding another two.

The sounds of the battle were overheard by *a passing Mohawk party of composed of approximately sixty warriors*. The French and Mohawks engaged in *a small skirmish* which resulted in *a small number of casualties on both sides*. The *French troops were at a tactical disadvantage* as they were used to the pitched battles regulated by rigid drills commonly used in Continental Europe. Despite the experience of the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, *their tactics were useless against the hit-and-run tactics used by the Mohawks*. The fighting ended when *the burgomaster of Schenectady informed Courcelles that he was in the territory of the Duke of York*. The burgomaster implied that if the French chose to stay in the settlement they would be vulnerable to attacks by both Indians and the English units stationed at Schenectady and **Albany** (*less than 25 kilometres away*). The French stopped the attack and the burgomaster agreed to provide the men with some provisions for their return journey.

The campaign was ultimately a failure. Nothing was accomplished and the regiment sustained great losses - *400 out of 500 died*. Due to the hastiness with which the campaign had been launched and the harshness of the weather, most of the deaths occurred while travelling from and to Fort St- Louis.

In the summer of 1666, Tracy initiated *a second campaign into Mohawk territory* after the declaration of the **Second Anglo-Dutch War**.<sup>35</sup> It was *a brutal war against the Iroquois peoples*. After *defeating them and destroying their crops and villages*, he launched *an attack against the Mohawk nation* (in central present-day New York) and caused destruction to their territory in the name of the king of France. Because of the *late arrival of several parties*, the regiment left in three separate columns over a period of three days. Tracy sought to use *the element of surprise*, moving swiftly into enemy territory, his soldiers traveling light. Thus, from the beginning of the campaign, the Regiment's situation was precarious as *the soldiers brought insufficient provisions and did not carry the necessary equipment for a*

<sup>33</sup> He arrived in Québec in 1666 and was immediately sent as *a military chaplain with Prouville de Tracy* in an action against the Mohawks.

<sup>34</sup> **Fort Chambly** as constructed in 1665 was the first wooden fort constructed in Nouveau France and had a rudimentary wood wall system with a building in the center of the fort. Inside, and near the center building, were small buildings for the troops.

<sup>35</sup> *A conflict fought between England and the Dutch Republic for control over the seas and trade routes, where England tried to end the Dutch domination of world trade during a period of intense European commercial rivalry: After initial English successes, the war ended in a Dutch victory.*

<sup>32</sup> On 4 May 1639, **Marie de l'Incarnation** and **Madeleine de la Peltrie**, set sail from Dieppe for Québec on board the **St-Joseph**. They were accompanied by a fellow aristocratic Ursuline **Marie de Sanonnières**, the young commoner **Charlotte Barré**, three nurses, and two Jesuit Fathers.

**lengthy assault.** Inclement weather added to the danger of the mission and further threatened the campaign's success.

As it moved inland, the regiment encountered **four Mohawk villages** all of which had been abandoned. The fact *that* the Mohawks abandoned their villages was **fortuitous for the regiment** since it was not operating at full strength and the soldiers were stretched over a large area. At this point in the campaign, the regiment *probably* would not have been able to withstand a large-scale attack. What is more, **the villages were hastily abandoned thus providing the French troops with a supply of food, tools, weapons, and other provisions.** After regrouping at the last of the four villages, Tracy ordered the soldiers to turn around and burn each one as they went, carrying all the loot they could back to Québec. The Mohawks, though skilled in **guerilla fighting**, were caught by surprise by the speed of the French attack and were unable to engage the French. *On 17 October 1666, the lands and fields surrounding the Mohawk villages were all claimed as French territory and crosses were erected to symbolize that claim. However, the French never returned to the area to enforce this territorial claim.*

Despite the fact *that* the **French troops had not directly engaged the Mohawks or the English**, the campaign was considered a great success; the French *finally* assumed **a position of tactical superiority over the Mohawk and Iroquois Confederacy** which in turn gave the French a diplomatic advantage in the following peace talks. As a result, the French were able to place **French-speaking traders as well as Jesuits** in a number of Iroquois villages. To ensure the success of this agreement as well as the security of the traders and missionaries, **a system of hostages** was implemented. Each Iroquois village was required to send two members of a leading family to live in the St-Lawrence Valley. Moreover, **the Mohawk were forced to accept the Roman Catholic faith and to adopt the French language as taught by the Jesuit missionaries.** A mission village for Mohawk Catholics, **Kahnawake**,<sup>36</sup> was set up on the south shore of the St-Lawrence near Montréal.

## PART TWO

### King Philips War & the Wabanaki Confederacy

*The most destructive war of the seventeenth-century in North America; whereof more than 600 colonists and 3000 Indians died.*

By the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, much of North America had been claimed by European countries. **Spain had claimed Florida as well as modern-day Mexico and much of the southwestern part of the continent.** The **northern and central Atlantic coast was claimed by Britain**, and **Nouveau France comprised much of what is now eastern Canada as well as the central Illinois Country.** The French feared that their territory was vulnerable to the expansionist aims of its neighbors.

After Spain declared war on France in October 1667, King Louis agreed to support **René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle**,<sup>37</sup> who had a plan **for promoting Christianity among the native peoples as well as a convenient location for attacking the Spanish province of Nueva Vizcaya - the first province in the north of Nueva España (New Spain) to be explored and settled by the Spanish (v.i.).**<sup>38</sup> He was to return to North America and confirm

<sup>36</sup> The **Mohawks** practiced the **adoption of captives into the tribe**, mostly young women and children taken in raids. They made these full members, **including Europeans.** The Mohawk had **a matrilineal kinship system**, with **children considered born into the clan of the mother** and deriving their status from her family - and through the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many marriages occurred between European men and Indian women. Mixed-race children born to Mohawk mothers were readily assimilated into the mother's family and the nation. As a result, **many Kahnawake people are of mixed ethnicity** - of Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, French, English, Anglo-American, Scots and Irish descent but identifying as Mohawk.

<sup>37</sup> **La Salle's major legacy** was establishing the **network of forts** from Fort Frontenac to outposts along the Great Lakes, Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi rivers that came **to define French territorial, diplomatic and commercial policy** for almost a century between his first expedition and the 1763 cession of Nouveau France to Great Britain. In addition to the forts, which also served as **authorized agencies for the extensive fur trade**, La Salle's visits to **Illinois** and other Indians cemented **the French policy of alliance with Indians** in the common causes of containing both Iroquois influence and Anglo-American settlement.

<sup>38</sup> Spanish exploration of the area began with an expedition in 1531 by Spanish conquistador **Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán**. Originally **a bodyguard of Charles V of Spain**, he was sent to Mexico to counterbalance the influence of the leader of the **Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire, Hernán Cortés**, since the King worried he was becoming too powerful. As Governor of Pánuco, Guzmán cracked down hard on the supporters of Cortés, stripping him and his supporters of property and rights. He conducted **numerous expeditions of conquest** into the northwestern areas of Mexico, **enslaving thousands of Indians and shipping them to the Caribbean colonies.** In

"the Indians' allegiance to the crown, leading them to the true faith, and maintaining intertribal peace."

As a man, **René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Sallé son of Jean Cavelier and Catherine Geest** studied with **the Jesuit religious order** and became a member after **taking initial vows in 1660.** At his request on 27 March 1667, after he was in Canada, he was **released from the Society of Jesus** after citing "moral weaknesses." La Sallé was **nearly destitute** when he traveled as a prospective colonist to North America. He had sailed for Nouveau France in the spring of 1666: (*His brother Jean, a Sulpician priest, had moved there the year before*).

La Sallé was granted a seigneurie on land at the western end of **Île de Montréal**, which became known as **Lachine**. La Sallé immediately began to issue **land grants**, set up a village and **learned the languages of the native people**, mostly Mohawk in this area. The Mohawk told him of a great river, called the **Ohio**, which flowed into the Mississippi River. Thinking the river flowed into the **Gulf of Mexico**, he began to plan for expeditions to find **a western passage to China.** He sought and received permission from **Governor Daniel Courcelles** and **Intendant Jean Talon** to embark on the enterprise. He sold his interests in Lachine to finance the venture.

In October 1668, Laval attached **a petit séminaire** to the institution of the Séminaire de Québec. It was meant to train boys, amongst which would be chosen those with vocations to priesthood... and natives were welcome, *too*. When it opened, only eight French students and six Huron were present, due to **a lack of teachers.** However, shortly after its opening, a considerable number of French missionaries arrived in the colony, especially **Sulpicians**, whose commitment was to providing this education. Laval wanted these teachers to spread the word that his institution was **to establish a sense of charity and love for religion in the colony** and not another source of law or authority.

Laval's view of the **Grand Séminaire** was **greater than a mere teaching academy.** He hoped that it would become **a home for all parochial priests.** Laval encouraged them to see it as their true home and as a place to which they may turn to in sickness or old age. Furthermore, he wanted the seminary to become **a paymaster for all priests and parishes**, which meant *that* it had to be well funded. In order to accomplish this feat, **Laval donated most of his own fortune to the seminary** since it had now become his home as well. He *also* convinced **Louis XIV**, to give him **the income of three different abbeys in France.** Moreover, since his institution was expected to pay off all priests, Laval thought it would be normal to receive **the incomes levied by their parishes.** This idea was, *however*, met with a lot of resistance from the population, which was not accustomed to contributing to the upkeep of religious institutions. His original goal of demanding **a tax worth one-thirteenth of the produce of farms** was met with violent resistance, which forced him to reduce it to one-twenty-sixth.

After firmly establishing his seminary, Laval did share a large part of his administrative work with other religious figures, thus slowly developing the church. He appointed his young companion from France, **Henri de Bernières**, the pastor of Québec, at the head of the seminary, *thus* closely linking it with the **Parish of Québec.** Furthermore, he *also* appointed five other directors who would form the bishop's advisory body. In 1668 he appointed the previously troublesome **Abbé Queylus** as the first Superior of a new seminary in Ville-Marie.

Laval *also* took interest in practical education for craftsmen and farmers, founding a school of arts and crafts at **St-Joachim**<sup>39</sup> - *one of the first places of Nouveau France to be colonized.*

The **return of the Récollets to Nouveau France** in 1670 was led by **Père Germain Allart**, accompanied by **Gabriel de la Ribourde, Simple Landon, Hilarion Guenin, Anselme Bardoun, and Frère Luc.** The territory of **Québec** had since been carved up amongst the **Jesuits**, who claimed the **Laurentian Valley** and other western territories, and the **Sulpicians** who owned **Montréal** and its surrounding region. At this point, **the conversion of Amerindians to Christianity was no longer the main priority of the Récollets**, as they were more concerned with rebuilding infrastructure that had been left behind following their expulsion by the British in 1629. Nonetheless, they continued

the resulting power struggles where he *also* made himself an enemy of important churchmen, Guzmán - **a cruel, violent and irrational tyrant** - came out the loser.

In 1537, he was **arrested for treason, abuse of power and mistreatment of the indigenous inhabitants of his territories**, and he was **sent to Spain in shackles.**

<sup>39</sup> In 1628, **St-Joachim** - first called after **Cape Tourmente** - was destroyed by the **Kirke Brothers** but it became an agricultural centre again after 1668 when **François de Laval** bought land around the cape to establish farms to feed his **Seminary of Québec.**

to partake in evangelization missions in *Gaspésie*, in *Acadia*, and in *Louisiana*.

In 1672 the **Franco-Dutch War** began, and *England allied itself with the French*. England and the Netherlands came to terms early in 1674 and then several months later the July day when *buccaneer captain Jurriaen Aernoutsz*, commander of the Dutch frigate *Flying Horse*, sailed into *New York harbor*: (Previously he had been sailing the North Atlantic Ocean looking for English and French ships to attack.)

In New York he met a fur trader named *John Rhoades*, a Massachusetts resident thoroughly familiar with the coasts of Maine and Acadia, who told him that *the Dutch were no longer at war with the English*, but that France had yet to come to terms. Rhoades went on to explain to Aernoutsz that *the French colony in Acadia was barely defended* and ripe for conquest. Aernoutsz took this suggestion to his crew and they agreed unanimously. John Rhoades would be the crew's guide.

In 1672, *Martin Chartier*<sup>40</sup> - a "*White Indian*," whom wouldst later live amongst the Shawnee, along with his brother Pierre, participated in *Louis Jolliet's second expedition*. Jolliet was chosen by *Intendant Jean Talon* (who in turn had been delegated his power from *Governor Louis de Buade de Frontenac*) to explore the Mississippi River, which the Indians alleged flowed into the southern sea. In the order, the French governor refers to Jolliet as one "experienced in these kinds of discoveries and who had been already very near the river."

In December of the same year *Jolliet reached the Straits of Mackinac*, where with Jesuit priest and missionary *Père Jacques Marquette*,<sup>41</sup> he spent the winter and the early-spring in *questioning the Indians and preparing maps for his famous 1673 expedition*, also with *Père Marquette*, them being *the first Europeans to explore and map the northern portion of the Mississippi River Valley* in their search for to find the mouth of the Mississippi River, to discover if it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean.

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<sup>40</sup> *Martin Chartier* arrived in Québec in 1667 with his brother *Pierre*, his sister *Jeanne Renée*, and his father *René*. On the transatlantic voyage, René and Martin became acquainted with *La Salle*, who was also immigrating to Canada. In 1672, Martin Chartier, along with his brother Pierre, participated in *Louis Jolliet's second expedition* into the *Illinois Territory*, and went with *La Salle* on his 1679-1680 journey to *Lake Erie*, *Lake Huron*, and *Lake Michigan*. Chartier assisted in the construction of *Fort Miami* and *Fort Crèvecoeur*. In December of the same year Jolliet reached the *Straits of Mackinac*, where with Jesuit *Père Marquette*, he spent the winter and the early spring in questioning the Indians and preparing maps for his famous 1673 expedition in two canoes, also with *Père Marquette* and *five voyageurs of French-Indian ancestry (Métis)*, to find the mouth of the Mississippi River - to discover if it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean.

The *Joliet-Marquette expedition* traveled to within 435 miles (700 km) of the Gulf of Mexico but turned back at the mouth of the *Arkansas River*. By this point they had encountered several natives carrying European trinkets, and they feared an encounter with explorers or colonists from Spain. Marquette and his party returned to the Illinois Territory in late-1674, becoming the first Europeans to winter in what would become the city of *Chicago*.

In 1674, *Chartier* accompanied *Louis Jolliet* to the *Illinois Territory*, and became acquainted with the *Pekowi Shawnee*, who lived at that time on the *Wabash River*. In 1675, Chartier married *Sewatha Straight Tail* daughter of the Shawnee chief *Straight Tail Meauroway Opessa* - simply known as *Meauroway*, Chief of the *Pekowi* (a subdivision of the Shawnee Native American tribe) and also the Chief of the *Turtle Clan*, one of the most religious orders of the tribe.

In the spring of 1675, Marquette traveled westward and celebrated a public mass at the *Grand Village of the Illinois near Starved Rock*. A bout of dysentery which he had contracted during the Mississippi expedition sapped his health... and, on 18 May 1675, on return trip to *St-Ignace*, Marquette (age 37) died and was buried by two French companions somewhere along the *Lake Michigan shore*.

<sup>41</sup> After he worked and taught in France for several years, the Jesuits assigned Marquette to *Nouveau France* in 1666 as a missionary to the indigenous peoples of the Americas. He showed great proficiency in learning the local languages, especially *Huron*. In 1668 he was moved by his superiors to missions farther up the *St-Lawrence River* in the western Great Lakes region. He helped found missions at *Sault Ste-Marie* in present-day *Michigan* in 1668, *St-Ignace* in 1671 (St-Ignace Mission), and at *La Pointe*, on *Lake Superior* near the present-day city of *Ashland, Wisconsin*. At *La Pointe* he encountered members of the *Illinois tribes*, who told him about the important trading route of the *Mississippi River*. They invited him to teach their people, whose settlements were mostly farther south. Because of wars between the *Hurons at La Pointe* and the neighboring *Lakota people*, Marquette left the mission and went to the *Straits of Mackinac*, where-at he informed his superiors about the rumored river and requested permission to explore it.

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Leave was granted in 1673 for *Père Marquette* to join the expedition of *Louis Jolliet*,<sup>42</sup> a French-Canadian explorer. They departed from *St-Ignace* on May 17<sup>th</sup>, with two canoes and five voyageurs of French-Indian ancestry (*Métis*). They followed *Lake Michigan to Green Bay* and up the *Fox River*, nearly to its headwaters. From there, they were told to portage their canoes a distance of slightly less than two miles through marsh and oak plains to the *Wisconsin River*: (Many years later, at that point the town of *Portage, Wisconsin* was built, named for the ancient path between the two rivers). From the portage, they ventured forth, and on June 17<sup>th</sup> they entered the Mississippi near present-day *Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin*.

The *Jolliet-Marquette expedition* traveled down the Mississippi to within 435 miles (700 km) of the *Gulf of Mexico*. They turned back north at the mouth of the *Arkansas River*. By this point, they had encountered *Natives carrying European goods*, and worried about a possible hostile encounter with explorers or colonists from Spain. The voyageurs then followed the Mississippi back to the mouth of the *Illinois River*, which friendly natives told them was a shorter route back to the *Great Lakes*. Following the Illinois River upstream, they then turned up its tributary the *Des Plaines River* near modern-day *Joliet, Illinois*. They then continued up the *Des Plaines River*, portaged their canoes and gear at the *Chicago Portage*, then followed the *Chicago River* downstream until they reached *Lake Michigan* near the location of modern-day *Chicago*. *Père Marquette* stayed at the mission of *St-François-Xavier* at the southern end of *Green Bay*, which they reached in August, while Joliet returned to Québec to relate the news of their discoveries.

[*Hernando de Soto*<sup>43</sup> was the first European to make official note of the Mississippi River by discovering its southern entrance in 1541, Jolliet and Marquette were the first to locate its upper reaches, and travel most of its length, about 130 years later. De Soto had named the river *Rio del Espiritu Santo*, but tribes along its length called it variations of "*Mississippi*."] ]

On 12 July 1673, the Governor of *Nouveau France*, *Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau*, arrived at the mouth of the *Cataragui River* (which forms the lower portion of the *Rideau Canal* and drains into *Lake Ontario* at *Kingston*) to meet with leaders of the Five Nations of the Iroquois to encourage them to trade with the French. While the groups met and exchanged gifts, *Frontenac's* men, led by *La Sallé*, hastily constructed a rough wooden

<sup>42</sup> *Louis Jolliet* was a *French Canadienne explorer* known for his discoveries in North America. Jolliet and *Jesuit Père Jacques Marquette* were the first non-Natives to explore and map the Mississippi River in 1673.

Jolliet was born in 1645 in *Beaupré*, a French settlement near *Québec City*. When he was seven years old, his father died; his mother then married a successful merchant. Jolliet's stepfather owned land on *Île d'Orléans*, an island in the *St-Lawrence River*. Jolliet spent much time on *Île d'Orléans*, so it was likely that he began speaking *Aboriginal languages at a young age*. During his childhood, *Québec was the center of the French fur trade*. The Natives were part of day-to-day life in Québec, and Jolliet grew up knowing a lot about them. He entered a *Jesuit school* in Québec and received minor orders in 1662 and focused on philosophical and religious studies, aiming for priesthood. He also studied music, becoming a skilled harpsichordist and church organist. Yet he abandoned his plans to become a priest and left the seminary in 1667, having decided to pursue fur trading instead. He spoke French, English, and Spanish.

<sup>43</sup> *Hernando de Soto* born of parents who were both *hidalgos* (nobility of modest means) was a *Spanish explorer and conquistador* who led the first Spanish and European expedition deep into the territory of the modern-day United States (through Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and most likely Arkansas). He is the first European documented as having crossed the Mississippi River. Brave leadership, unwavering loyalty, and ruthless schemes for the extortion of native villages for their captured chiefs became de Soto's hallmarks during the conquest of Central America. He gained fame as an excellent horseman, fighter, and tactician. During that time, de Soto was influenced by the achievements of Spanish explorers: *Juan Ponce de León*, the first European to reach Florida; *Vasco Núñez de Balboa*, the first European to reach the Pacific Ocean coast of the Americas (he called it the "South Sea" on the south coast of Panama); and *Ferdinand Magellan*, who first sailed that ocean to East Asia.

**palisade** on a point of land by a shallow, sheltered bay. Originally the fort was named **Fort Cataragui** but was later renamed **Fort Frontenac** by La Sallé in honor of his patron. The purpose of Fort Frontenac was to control the lucrative fur trade in the Great Lakes Basin to the west. The fort was *also* meant to be *a bulwark against the English and Dutch*, who were competing with the French for control of the fur trade. La Sallé was left in command of the fort in 1673.

Thanks to his powerful protector, the discoverer managed, during a voyage to France in 1674–75, to secure for himself the grant of **Fort Cataragui** and, with Frontenac's support, acquired not only *a fur trade concession*, with permission to establish frontier forts, but also *letters of nobility* for himself and his descendants. He returned and **rebuilt Fort Frontenac in stone**. Using the fort as a base, he undertook expeditions to the west and southwest in the interest of developing a vast fur-trading empire. **Henri de Tonti** joined his explorations as his lieutenant.

In 1674, fifteen years after his arrival to Nouveau France, Laval asked that the territory be made into *a fully independent diocese*. His request was granted, and he was appointed the first **Bishop of Québec**. The one issue Laval never relented with, *however*, was *the trade of alcohol to the natives*. Once he was appointed bishop, he revisited his original cause. In 1675, Laval, despite Governor Frontenac's resistance on the matter, proceeded to excommunicate all who sold alcohol to the natives. *On 24 May 1679 Laval succeeded in obtaining a royal decree banning the trade*.

**Père Marquette** and his party returned to **Illinois Territory** in late-1674, becoming *the first Europeans to winter in what would become the city of Chicago*. As welcomed guests of the **Illinois Confederation**,<sup>44</sup> the explorers were feasted en route and fed ceremonial foods such as *sagamité*.<sup>45</sup>

**Henri de Tonti**<sup>46</sup> son of Lorenzo de Tonti,<sup>47</sup> a financier and former governor of Gaeta and Isabelle di Lietto was an Italian soldier from the Kingdom of Naples, explorer, and fur trader in the service of France.

In 1674, along with the governor of Acadia, **Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de St-Castin**,<sup>48</sup> a French military officer serving in Acadia and a trader who did

much to gain influence with the Abenaki, Penobscot, and other local tribes being made *an Abenaki chief*, was *taken to Boston as a prisoner in the Dutch-led conquest of Acadia*, who renamed the colony **New Holland** (Nova Hollandia). After he returned from Boston, **Governor Frontenac** gave St-Castin the task of allying the Abenaki with the French and recaptured the former capital of Acadia, **Fort Pentagouet** the following year (1675) during **King Philip's War**<sup>49</sup> - *an armed conflict in 1675–78 between Indian inhabitants of New England and New England colonists and their Indian allies*.

The French and native allies under the command of St-Castin, and an Abenaki chief, regained control of the area the following year in 1675, *however*, a year later the **Dutch West India Company** appointed **Cornelis Steenwijck**, a Dutch merchant in New York, governor of the "coasts and countries of Nova Scotia and Acadie."

Prior to King Philip's War, there is no record of New England and the Mi'kmaq being in conflict. During the **First Abenaki War**, **Major Richard Waldron** son of William Walderne and Catherine Raven, an English-born merchant of a well-off Puritan family and colonial government official (i.e. *second president of the New Hampshire Royal Council after it was first separated from Massachusetts*), captured natives for the slave trade. For their part, in response to **King Philip's War**, the five Indian tribes in the region of Acadia created the **Wabanaki Confederacy** to form a political and military alliance with Nouveau France to stop the New England expansion.

**Metacomet (King Philip)** used tribal alliances to coordinate efforts to push European colonists out of New England. Many of the native tribes in the region wanted to push out the colonists following conflicts over land use, diminished game as a consequence of expanding European settlement, and other tensions. As the colonists brought their growing numbers to bear, King Philip and some of his followers took refuge in the great **Assowamset Swamp** in southern Massachusetts. He held out for a time, with his family and remaining followers.

#### A Note on the Salem Witch Trials

In 1662, three **Quaker missionaries**, **Ann Coleman**, **Mary Tompkins** and **Alice Ambrose**, arrived in Dover from England. Within weeks, *their ministry*

<sup>44</sup> The "**Illinois**" **autonym** was not "Illinois," but rather "**Inoka**" - a word of unknown meaning. The **Illinois Confederation** sometimes referred to as the *Illiniwek* or *Illini*, was a group of 12–13 Native American tribes in the upper Mississippi River valley. At the time of European contact in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they were believed to number over 10,000 people. Most of the Illinois spoke various dialects of the *Miami-Illinois language*, one of the *Algonquian languages families*, with the known exception of the *Siouan-speaking Michigamea*. They occupied a broad inverted triangle from modern-day Iowa to near the shores of Lake Michigan in modern Chicago south to modern Arkansas. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, only five principal tribes remained.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Illinois suffered from a combination of *exposure to Eurasian infectious diseases*, to which they had *no natural immunity* and *warfare by the expansion of the Iroquois* into the western Great Lakes region. The Iroquois had hunted out their traditional lands and sought more productive hunting and trapping areas. They sought furs to purchase European goods in the fur trade. Many of the Illinois migrated to present-day eastern Kansas to escape the pressure from other tribes and encroaching European settlers.

<sup>45</sup> **Sagamité** - a Native American *stew used in ceremonies* to celebrate welcomed guests made from hominy or Indian corn and grease (from animal fat). Additional ingredients may include vegetables, wild rice, brown sugar, beans, smoked fish or animal brains.

<sup>46</sup> In 1668, Henri joined the French Army and *later* served in the French Navy. During the **Third Anglo-Dutch War**, Henri was part of the French troops that **King Louis XIV** sent to Sicily in 1675 under the command of the **Duke of Vivonne** to support the rebellion of the important town of **Messina** (circa 100,000 inhabitants in 1674) against *the crown of Spain*. Tonti took part in the *military operations in the village of Gesso*, up the hills near Messina and *he lost his hand in a grenade explosion*. From that time on, wore *a prosthetic hook* covered by a glove, thus earning the nickname "**Iron Hand**." Among the officers fighting beside the French expedition corps, there were the brothers **Antonio and Thomas Crisafy**, who years later Tonti wouldst have the chance to meet again in Nouvelle France.

For reasons unknown, Louis XIV had him imprisoned in the **Bastille** from 1668-to-1675. Around 1684, he died in obscurity of unknown causes.

<sup>47</sup> **Lorenzo de Tonti** had been involved in *a revolt against a Spanish viceroy* in Naples and had to seek *political asylum in France*. In Paris, the family gave birth to their second son, **Pierre Alphonse de Tonty**, **Baron de Paludy**, an officer who served under the French explorer **Sieur de Cadillac** and helped establish the **first European settlement** at **Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit** on the **Detroit River** in 1701. Several months later, both Cadillac and Tonty brought their wives to the fort, making them *the first European women to travel so deep into the new territory*.

**Alphonse de Tonty** was involved in *numerous scandals* and *disreputable activities* before he was *eventually* dismissed from his post as commandant of Fort Pontchartrain. He died before he could obtain another appointment or return to France.

<sup>48</sup> Little is known of his early years other than he lost his mother in infancy and his father before his teens. He left for Canada at the age of thirteen as an ensign in the army, a suitable pursuit for the younger son of a noble.

He married a Native American woman, the daughter of **Madokawando adopted son of Assaminasqua** - a sachem of the Penobscot, whom he succeeded. The Penobscot lands, lying east of Penobscot River, were a part of what the French called Acadia.

<sup>49</sup> The war is named for Wampanoag chief **Metacomet second son of the sachem Massasoit** or **Ousamequin** (*Massasoit means Great Sachem*), who adopted the name **Philip** because of the friendly relations between his father Massasoit and the **Mayflower Pilgrims**. There was some tension between Massasoit and the colonists when they refused to give up **Tisquantum** (*Squanto*),\* whom Massasoit believed to have betrayed him. This, *however*, was resolved in March 1623 when Massasoit was gravely ill and **Edward Winslow** nursed him back to health. In return for their kindness, Massasoit warned the Plymouth colonists of a plot against them: He had learned that *a group of influential Massachusetts warriors* intended to destroy both the Wessagusset and Plymouth colonies, and warned the Pilgrims in time.

**Massasoit** was *humane and honest, never violated his word*, and *constantly endeavored to imbue his people with a love of peace*. He kept the Pilgrims advised of any warlike designs toward them by other tribes. According to Colonial sources, **Massasoit prevented the failure of Plymouth Colony** and the *almost* certain starvation that the Pilgrims faced during the earliest years of the colony's establishment. But *the forty years of peace* that Massasoit so assiduously maintained collapsed soon after his death. **Wamsutta** (*also known as Alexander*) *elder brother of Massasoit* broke away from his father's diplomacy and began to form *an alliance with the Puritan Connecticut Colony*. He died suddenly within a year of his succession in 1662, and **Massasoit became sachem of the Pokanokets and chief sachem of the Greater Wampanoag Confederacy**. He believed that Alexander had been murdered at the hands of the Colonists, and this was one of the factors that *eventually* led to **King Philip's War - one of the bloodiest wars in American history**.

\* **Tisquantum** last of the Patuxet was a *member of the Patuxet tribe of the Wampanoag* (literally "People of the Dawn") - a tribal confederation who lived on the western coast of Cape Cod Bay which had been wiped out by *a series of plagues and epidemic infection*. He is best known for being *an early liaison between the native populations in Southern New England and the Pilgrims who made their settlement at the site of Squanto's former summer village*. When the **Mayflower** landed in 1620, **Squanto worked to broker peaceable relations between the Pilgrims and the local Pokanokets**. He played a key role in the early meetings in March 1621, partly because he spoke English (*having been kidnapped by English explorer Thomas Hunt and sold into slavery in Spain, where he remained until escaping and eventually returning to North America in 1619*). He then lived with the Pilgrims for 20 months, acting as a translator, guide, and advisor. He *also introduced the settlers to the fur trade, and taught them how to sow and fertilize native crops* (i.e. the "**Three Sisters**" - beans, corn and squash), which proved vital since the seeds which the Pilgrims had brought from England largely failed.



became the subject of a public petition by the Puritan townsmen, “humbly craving relief against the spreading and the wicked errors of the Quakers among them.” **Waldron**, as the local crown magistrate, *ordered them to be punished as vagabonds by being bound behind a cart and being made to walk over eighty miles in a bitter winter* through ten neighboring townships. Beginning in Dover, and on arrival in each township, they were *to be publicly stripped to the waist and whipped ten times*. At the third township in which they were mistreated, **Salisbury** (originally called Colchester) situated on the Atlantic Ocean, north of Boston on the New Hampshire border **Major Robert Pike**<sup>50</sup> son of John Pike and Dorothy Day, who had died several years before *stopped the torture and released them*. There, after receiving *urgently required medical assistance* from **Walter Barefoote** maybe descended from **Ezekiel Culverwell**, a prominent English Puritan of the late-16<sup>th</sup> century who was *acting governor of the province*, the women left for Maine. *Despite Barefoote’s claimed Puritan family connections he was a confirmed Anglican, opposing the Puritan rule of the New Hampshire settlements by Massachusetts Bay Colony.*

“Cut loose these poor ones and let them go;  
Come what will of it, all men shall know  
No warrant is good, though backed by the Crown,  
For whipping women in Salisbury town!”

*At the time of King Philip’s War Pike served as Sergeant-Major, and was responsible for much of the area north of Boston (Maine was then a part of Massachusetts). Captain Benjamin Church reported to Sergeant-Major Pike.*

### Nova Hollandia

**Jurriaen Aernoutsz** (or **Aernouts**)<sup>51</sup> was a Dutch colonial navy captain who briefly captured **Fort Pentagouet** - capital of Acadia in **Penobscot Bay** (present day Castine, Maine) in two hours. He then sailed up the **Bay of Fundy**, *pillaging several French posts* along the coast and ending at **Fort Jemseg**,<sup>52</sup> which he also captured. Thus **Aernoutsz claimed Acadia as Dutch territory**, burying bottles at both Pentagouet and Jemseg to assert his claim, and remained in Acadia for about a month. He *subsequently* returned to Boston in mid-September, disposing of his pillage and *selling the cannon from Pentagouet to the government of Massachusetts*.

Aernoutsz then returned to Curaçao in October, leaving Rhoades and company in Boston with orders to return to Acadia to maintain possession of the territory. Once back in Acadia, Rhoades, **Peter Roderigo**, and **Cornelius Andreson** were *all issued privateering commissions* to keep out the French and prevent the English from making inroads into Nova Hollandia. **Roderigo led their group** from his ship **Edward and Thomas**. Andreson’s ship **Penobscot Shallop** took several English vessels on charges of trespassing and illegal fur trading. He looted them of their pelts, detained their captains and crews, and threatened to keep their ships as prizes before releasing them. They soon captured an English fur trader named **George Manning**. After looting his ship and *threatening to maroon him*, they allowed him to keep his ship if he would sail alongside them under the Dutch flag. The flotilla stopped a number of New

England vessels coming to trade with the **Wabanaki Confederacy**, looting them of pelts and furs and threatening the sailors.

**Boston merchants** heard *complaints from sailors and fur traders*, who had been previously been allowed free range over the Acadia territory by paying fees to the French. They petitioned *colonial officials of Massachusetts* to send *a small fleet under privateer and Indian fighter Captain Samuel Mosely* to deal with the Dutch privateers. Roderigo and his fleet tried to fight Mosely’s ships but **Manning immediately switched sides to aid the English**; and, outgunned severely, the Dutch surrendered. Thus apprehended, the party was *tried as pirates*, during which time the French regained control of the territory without any military opposition. The English courts ignored the Dutch privateering commissions, which had been signed not by **Prince William of Orange** but by Aernoutsz himself... and, in 1675, most of the Dutch were *convicted of piracy at trial* but all were *eventually* either acquitted, pardoned, or sentenced to hang... their sentences being commuted to banishment *instead*. The **Penobscot Shallop** and its sister ship were given to the heirs of a Boston merchant as compensation for lost goods.

**Rhoades was also condemned to death**, but he *too* was *eventually* released on condition *that* he leaves Massachusetts. He was later *granted a trading license by the Dutch West India Company* during Van Steenwyk’s brief attempt to regain control of Acadia in 1676, but was again *arrested for trespassing on the territory of James, Duke of York*. He was taken back to New York City, but was *released after a brief imprisonment*, and later rejoined the English, fighting alongside Mosely’s fellow Indian fighter **Joshua Scottow**, a colonial American merchant and a devout supporter of the **Massachusetts theocracy** (which was *threatened by Indians, Quakers, witches, imperial officials, and the French*).

The Dutch continued to consider Nova Hollandia part of their colonial empire in North America imprisoning the Governor of Acadia **Jacques de Chambly** and appointing **Cornelis Jacobsz Steenwijck** as governor of the **Dutch West India Company** in 1676, but this was largely a paper designation—in actual practice, the region remained under French control and sovereignty. Shortly after his appointment, Van Steenwijck sent a Dutch expedition to reoccupy Pentagouet, but they were turned back by three English warships from Boston. *The Dutch continued to claim sovereignty over Acadia on paper until 1678, when they surrendered the claim at the end of the war.*

### King Philip’s War

*also known as*

### “Metacomet’s Rebellion”

*“One of the most brutal and lopsided military encounters in all of New England’s history.”*

**Edward Winslow of Plymouth Colony** had been a Pilgrim leader who made peace with the native peoples and treated them honorably. But his son **Josias Winslow**,<sup>53</sup> who became the colony’s military commander about 1659, did not have a good relation with the Indians, and had a different view of them than did his father. Eventually the colonials no longer held the opinion, as they had for so many years previous, whence needing their help for their survival. Many younger colonists *especially* began to see Indians as a savage impediment to the development of the lands which they now largely saw as their own. At the time *that* Josiah Winslow became governor of Plymouth Colony in 1673, he was seen by the local native peoples as *the embodiment of all that was unwelcome about the English-native relationship*.

**Metacomet (King Philip)** began his relationship with the English having the best interests of all at heart, but *greed played a part in his thinking* and he *eventually* was involved in *a massive transfer of native lands to the English*, helped by a questionable character - **Thomas Willet fourth son of controversial anti-Papist English clergyman Andrew Willet**, a sea-captain and merchant skilled in trade and native language who wrongly portrayed himself a friend to all parties.

<sup>50</sup> **Pike** was the *first to openly criticize the persecution of the Quakers*, for which he was *arraigned by the Massachusetts General Court* in 1653. Years later, he became embroiled in a long feud with the *obnoxious pastor of Salisbury*, Puritan clergyman **Reverend John Wheelwright** son of Robert Wheelwright of Cumberworth and Saleby in Lincolnshire, who was contentious, lacking a conciliatory spirit, and never one to shrink from controversy, and whom *excommunicated Pike* in 1675 but was later obliged to reinstate him. More-so, Pike was an opponent of *the Salem witchcraft prosecutions of 1692* and the first of several prominent men to question the handling of *the witchcraft crisis*. More than 125 people had been arrested on *charges of witchcraft*, and were being held in *Puritan Boston and Salem prisons* - the *admission of spectral evidence* (accusations of a crime committed by one’s “specter,” against which there is *no alibi possible*).

**Cotton Mather** expressed anguish over Phips’ resolute and final, if slow, move to shut down the witchcraft proceedings and stated his displeasure with *calls for presumed innocence* (“Cases of Conscience”).

<sup>51</sup> **Jurriaen Aernoutsz** was the commander of the frigate **Flying Horse**, based at Curaçao during the **Third Anglo-Dutch War**. He was dispatched by the governor of Curaçao to fight French and English ships in the North Atlantic after the Netherlands recaptured New York City. By the time he reached New York, *however*, the English and the Dutch had made peace in the **Treaty of Westminster**—but with the **Franco-Dutch War** still underway Aernoutsz met with **John Rhoades** and decided to attack Acadia.

<sup>52</sup> **The history of Jemseg is a microcosm of the whole story of Acadia**, the eastern provinces of Canada that passed back and forth between the French and English after 1604. English proprietor of Nova Scotia **Col. Thomas Temple** established the first trading post at Jemseg *near the mouth of the river* (1659). This was *a fortified post convenient for trade* with the Maliseet. However Temple’s prosperity was short-lived for Acadia was restored to the French in 1667.

<sup>53</sup> **Josiah Winslow** was born in Plymouth Colony about 1628: His parents were **Edward Winslow** and his second wife, Susanna White, widow of Pilgrim **William White**, who died in February 1621, with whom she had sons *Resolved and Peregrine White*, all of whom were *Mayflower passengers*. *The wedding of Edward Winslow and Susanna White was the first in Plymouth Colony*. In 1643 Josiah Winslow was chosen deputy to the general court from Marshfield [ ] and in 1656 he succeeded **Myles Standish** as the commander of the colony’s military forces.

In 1673 Josiah became the *first native-born governor of the colony* upon the death of Governor **Thomas Prence**. One of Josiah’s first acts as governor was to institute *a policy of larger sympathy for the Quakers*. He set free two men, **Cudworth** and **Robinson**, who were in prison for stating their sympathy for the formerly persecuted Quakers.

King Philip had for many years been placating his young English-hating warriors, promising war against the colonists. Philip always tried to avoid actually fighting English militias directly, and when confronted, wouldst back down. And as late as 23 June 1675, Philip still hoped he could keep from going to war... but Winslow, by now ill with *possible tuberculosis* and in no condition to fight a war, whether on purpose or not, managed to work against Philip instead of helping him with the support he badly needed to keep his warriors in check. Winslow had *actually* made matters worse when he prosecuted *Tobias*, a senior counselor to Philip, for the murder of an English-educated favorite—an Indian named *John Sassamon*, who the Indians may indeed have killed as a spy for the English.

Thus, King Philip began laying plans to attack the New England colonists in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and *he* slowly built *a confederation of neighboring Indian tribes*. He also gathered *muskets and gunpowder* for the eventual attack, but only in small numbers in order *that* the colonists would not be alarmed. Several Wampanoag men attacked and killed colonists in Swansea,<sup>54</sup> Massachusetts on 20 June 1675, *beginning King Philip's War*. Governor Josias Winslow had allowed an acrimonious situation to get out of hand and the attack and the violence that followed surprised everyone - English and Indian alike. The initial outbreak of violence that led to years of war was primarily caused by Winslow refusing to recognize that Philip's problems were actually *also* his own problems, *too*. And, in the end, Governor Josiah Winslow was the person most responsible for King Philip's War, *possibly* even more-so than King Philip or anyone else.

The Indians laid siege to the town, then destroyed it five days later and killed several more people. A *full penumbral lunar eclipse* occurred in the New England area on 27 June 1675 and the various tribes looked at it as *a good omen* for attacking the colonists. Officials from the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies responded quickly to the attacks on June 28<sup>th</sup> and sent *a punitive military expedition* which *destroyed the Wampanoag town at Mount Hope*.<sup>55</sup> The Indians waged attacks on settlements in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but Rhode Island was spared... at the beginning, *as the Narragansetts remained officially neutral*.

When King Philip's War had started, *Moseley was given command of a unit largely composed of criminals*, including Andreson, who fought under Mosely against the Wabanaki Confederacy. Andreson distinguished himself for bravery and tenaciousness on scouting missions, drawing praise from Moseley and his superiors.

During King Philip's War, *Benjamin Church* was the principal military aide to Governor Winslow. Commissioned by Winslow as a captain on 24 July 1675, he fought a punitive war on the New England frontier against the rebellious *Wampanoag*, *Nipmuck* and *Podunk* tribes of Indians. He is best known during this time for commanding a company of Englishmen and Native Americans independently of the governor's direction. Church's men were the first colonial force to be successful in raiding the hostile Indians' camps in forests and swamps. During previous decades, colonists had been on the defense against the Natives, who knew their territory intimately. Relations were generally peaceful until 1675, but tensions had been growing as the colonists and their views of property encroached on Indian Territory and hunting grounds.

Church was allowed to recruit Natives after he and other leaders realized *that traditional European military tactics were ineffective in frontier warfare*. He also persuaded many neutral or formerly hostile Indians to surrender and join his unit, where they operated skillfully as irregular troops. Some of these men had converted to Christianity in settlements before the war. They were known as *Praying Indians*.<sup>56</sup> After being organized by Church, these troops

tracked hostile Indians into the forests and swamps, and conducted effective raids and ambushes on their camps.

In October, the Indians struck again with raids on the towns of Hatfield, Northampton, and Springfield, where *almost the entire settlement was burned to the ground*. As winter set in, the attacks diminished.

On 2 November 1675, *Josiah Winslow* led a combined force of over 1000 colonial militia, including about 150 *Pequot* and *Mohegan* Indians, against the *Narragansetts* living around Narragansett Bay. The Narragansett tribe had not yet been directly involved in the war, but *they had sheltered many of King Philip's men, women, and children*, and *several of their warriors had participated in Indian raiding parties*. Thus the colonists distrusted the Narragansetts and feared *that* the tribe would join King Philip's cause in the spring, which caused great concern due to the tribe's location. The militia burned several abandoned Narragansett villages as they marched around Narragansett Bay... the tribe having retreated to a large fort in the center of the Great Swamp *near Kingston, Rhode Island*.

There was *one colonist who fought on the Indian side of the battle*: *Joshua Tefft* wounded *Captain Nathaniel Seely of Connecticut* (son of early Puritan settler Captain Robert Seeley), who subsequently died. An Indian spy reported *that* Tefft "did them good service & killed & wounded 5 or 6 English in that fight & before they would trust him he had killed a miller an English man at Narragansett and brought his scalpe to them."

The *Great Swamp Fight* or the *Great Swamp Massacre* was a crucial battle fought during King Philip's War between colonial militia of New England and the Narragansett tribe. On 15 December 1675, Narragansett warriors attacked the *Jireh Bull Blockhouse* and burned the stone garrison down, killing *at least* 15 people. *James Eldred* (age 15) escaped from the blockhouse and was pursued a considerable distance; he survived having a tomahawk thrown at him at close range and a hand-to-hand encounter with a Narragansett warrior.

Four days later, on 19 December 1675, the *Great Swamp Battle* took place on a bitterly cold and stormy day. It was fought near the villages of *Kingston* and *West Kingston* in the *Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*. The *combined force of the New England colonial militia* from Plymouth Colony, Connecticut Colony, and Massachusetts Bay Colony, including 150 Pequots, were led to the main Narragansett settlement [ ] by an Native guide named *Indian Peter*. The massive fort occupied about 5 acres (20,000 m2) of land and was initially *occupied by over a thousand people*... but it was *eventually* overrun after a fierce fight inflicting *a huge number of Narragansett casualties*. The settlement was burned, its inhabitants killed or evicted, and most of the tribe's winter stores destroyed. It is believed that at least 97 Narragansett warriors and 300-to-1000 non-combatants (including women and children) were killed, though exact figures are unknown. The battle has been described as "one of the most brutal and lopsided military encounters in all of New England's history."

Many of the Narragansett warriors and their families escaped into the frozen swamp; hundreds more died there from wounds combined with the harsh conditions. The colonists lost many of their officers in this assault, and *about* 70 of their men were killed and nearly 150 more wounded. The dead and wounded militiamen were evacuated to the settlements on *Aquidneck Island* in *Narragansett Bay* where they were buried or cared for by many of the Rhode Island colonists.

The Great Swamp Fight was a critical blow to the Narragansett tribe from which they never fully recovered.

In 1676, having been surprised and captured, Narragansett Sachem *Canonchet*, leader of troops during the Great Swamp Fight, was "*offered life*" *on condition of making peace with the English*, but he spurned the proposition... and, whence informed *that* he was to be put to death, he said: "I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft, and before I have spoken a word unworthy of myself." He was executed by the Mohegan sachem *Oneco* son of sachem *Uncas*<sup>57</sup> after he was shot by Pequot warrior *Robin*

<sup>54</sup> *Swansea* is a town in Bristol County in southeastern Massachusetts. It is located at the mouth of the Taunton River, just west of Fall River, 47 miles (76 km) south of Boston, and 12 miles (19 km) southeast of Providence, Rhode Island.

<sup>55</sup> *Mount Hope* is a small hill at Bristol, Rhode Island overlooking the part of Narragansett Bay known as Mount Hope Bay. It is the highest point in Bristol County, RI.

<sup>56</sup> *Praying Indian* is a 17<sup>th</sup> century term referring to Native Americans of New England, New York, Ontario, and Québec who converted to Christianity. Many groups are referred to by this term, but it is more commonly used for tribes that were organized into villages. These villages were known as "*Indian plantations*" or "*praying towns*" — predecessors to the Indian Reservation—and were established by those such as "*the apostle to the Indians*" *Puritan leader John Eliot*, *Jesuit missionaries of St-Regis and Kahnawake* (formerly known as *Caughnawaga*) and the *missionaries among the Huron* in western Ontario.

The *Reverend John Eliot* arrived in Boston in 1631 and began an ambitious project to learn the Massachusetts language *widely understood throughout New England*, convert the Native Americans, and published a Bible and grammar of the language. His efforts,

with colonial government backing, established several "*Praying towns*" where the *Indians were coerced to settle and instructed in English customs and Christianity*, but governed and preached to by other Native Americans and in their own dialects.

<sup>57</sup> *Uncas* ("Fox") son of the Mohegan sachem *Owaneco* - a descendant of the principal sachems of the *Mohegans*, *Pequots*, and *Narragansetts*, who could speak English and possibly some Dutch, made the Mohegans the *leading regional Indian tribe in lower Connecticut*, through his *alliance with the English colonists in New England against other Indian tribes*. In 1626, *Owaneco* arranged for *Uncas* to marry the daughter of the principal Pequot sachem *Tatobem* to secure an alliance with them.

**Cassacinamon: Oneco beheaded him and then quartered his body.** Canonchet's death at the hands of Oneco was notable as Canonchet's father, **Miantonomoh**, had been killed by Oneco's father, **Uncas**, in 1643.

When **King Philip's confederacy** rose against **Plymouth Colony**, the eastern Penobscot and the English settlers in Maine and New Hampshire became involved in war. The Penobscot people were **the first to treat for peace**, and offered to enter into **an alliance with the colonizing English**. Articles were drawn and subscribed at **Boston** on 6 November 1676, and the **peace was ratified by Madokawando**. The deceitful English, *however*, created **a pretext for renewing hostilities**. The Penobscot were successful, and destroyed all the English settlements in that part of Maine.

Hunted by a group of rangers led by Captain Benjamin Church, King Philip (Metacomet) was fatally shot by **a praying Indian** named **John Alderman**, on 12 August 1676, in the **Miery Swamp near Mount Hope at Bristol, Rhode Island**. After his death, **his wife and nine-year-old son were captured and sold as slaves in Bermuda**. Alderman was given Metacomet's head and right hand as a trophy... and **his body was cut into quarters and hung in trees**. Alderman later sold the severed head to Plymouth Colony authorities for 30 shillings, a standard rate for Indian heads... and **it was mounted on a pike at the entrance to Plymouth**, where it remained for more than two decades: (Reportedly, Alderman would exhibit the cut-off hand of Philip for a fee).

At the **end of King Philip's War**, a number of Indians fleeing from the **Massachusetts Bay Colony militia** took refuge with the **Abenaki** tribe living around **Dover**. The Massachusetts militia ordered **Waldron** to attack these natives and turn any refugee combatants over to them. Waldron believed he could capture the natives without a pitched battle and so, on 7 September 1676, he invited the natives—about 400 in total, half local and half refugees—to participate in **a mock battle against the militia**. After the natives had fired their guns, Waldron, aided by **Charles Frost**,<sup>58</sup> took them prisoner. Waldron then sent both the refugee combatants and those locals who violently objected to this **forced breach of hospitality** to Boston, where **seven or eight were convicted of insurrection and executed**. The rest were **sold into slavery** in “foreign parts,” mostly **Barbados** – *an island country in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies, in the Caribbean region of North America*.

The local Indians were released, but never forgave Waldron for the deception, which violated all the rules of honor and hospitality valued by both sides. Later Waldron gave a mandate to the merchant, **Henry Lawton** (or *Laughton*), of the **Piscataqua area**<sup>59</sup> to seize all the Indians “of the East” who had been raiding the New England villages along the border with Acadia. Lawton was assisted by **William Waldron** and **John (Laverdure) Melanson** (a Huguenot whose brothers were Pierre and Charles Melanson of Port Royal). They hired a vessel, the “**Endeavor**,” commanded by **Captain John Horton** and, stopping at Machias – *a town in and the county seat of Washington County in down-east Maine* – nine natives were taken captive; then they sailed to Cape Sable Island where 17 Mi'kmaq were captured, including the local chief and his wife; these

were all taken to the **Azores** (in the North Atlantic) and sold as slaves to the Portuguese.<sup>60</sup>

The **Mi'kmaq response** came in July 1677, when about 80 natives attacked 26 **New England fishermen** who were in six fishing vessels at **Port La Tour**. The natives boarded one of the vessels, stripped the men of their clothing, tied them up and left them on deck until nightfall, when they commanded them to set sail towards the **Penobscot River in Maine, close to Castine**. A few hours later, while in the harbor, the New England captain was able to overthrow the natives – although some natives escaped, the New Englanders imprisoned the rest, taking them to Marblehead, Massachusetts, where **the prisoners were tortured and stoned to death by a group of women**.

As an immediate response, some **merchants from Salem**, to whom most of the vessels belonged, armed a large ketch, transforming it into a warship. It was manned by forty men who sailed for southern Nova Scotia. They scanned the coast, scrutinized every port, but to no avail. The Indians had gone into hiding.

The **formal Dutch claim to Acadia** (1676) was finally abandoned at the end of the war with the **Treaty of Nijmegen** in 1678. The colonizers were permitted to return to their farms on **the condition of paying rent to the Penobscot**. The peace was kept until **a territorial dispute with France** was brought to an issue in 1688 by English colonial administrator “**Corlaer**” **Edmund Andros**,<sup>61</sup> who arrived among the Penobscot in a frigate – and **plundered Castin's house near the ruins of the old French fort**. The **Penobscot Chiefs** took up the quarrel – and, being abundantly supplied with arms by Castin, they **attacked English settlements**. This was one of the catalysts for **King William's War** (v.i.), but the larger issue was **competition between England and France for colonizing power and genocide in North America**. Madokawando took a prominent part in the atrocities of this war.

The English built **Fort William Henry** (v.i. Fort Charles) at **Pemaquid** as a fortress to protect the northern boundary of New England: (*The Massachusetts government used one third of its budget to build the fort, which was the largest in New England, being built with stone and mortar*). Madokawando hastened to Québec to carry this intelligence to Frontenac, but *instead* divulged it to **John Nelson** nephew of Sir Thomas Temple, a British proprietor and governor of Nova Scotia, an English colonial merchant, and his **messengers warned the authorities in Boston** of d'Iberville's expedition.

There were eighteen cannon mounted in the gun ports of six-foot thick walls that were raised ten-to-twenty feet above the ground. The commander of the fort was **Captain Pasco Chubb**. Pemaquid was the most northern coastal settlement of New England, and Pentagouet (*present-day Castine, Maine*) was the most southern Acadian settlement, a colony of Nouveau France. [*In 1693 the English had gained Madokawando's consent to a treaty of peace, yet he was unable to persuade the chiefs who were under the influence of French Jesuit emissaries, and was compelled to recommence hostilities.*]

**Joseph-Antoine le Fèvre, sieur de La Barré** was a French lawyer and administrator – and is best known for his disastrous three years term as governor of the colony of Nouveau France (Québec). At the age of 60 he was appointed Governor of Nouveau France, holding office from 1682-to-1685. He spent much of his energy in trading ventures, using his position as governor to attack his great rival **René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle**.

La Barré began **a war with the Iroquois**, the main power in the region, and led **a poorly equipped expedition** against them that ran into difficulty. He was forced to agree to **a disadvantageous peace treaty** that was condemned by France's Indian allies, the colonists and the French court. He was recalled as a result and spent his last few years as a wealthy man in Paris.

In the summer of 1678, “**Iron Hand**” (**Tonti**) journeyed with La Salle, who, recognizing him as an able associate, left Tonti to hold Fort Crèvecoeur in Illinois, while La Salle returned to Ontario. While on his return trip up the Illinois River, LaSalle concluded that Starved Rock might provide an ideal location for another fortification and sent word downriver to Tonti regarding

Owaneco died shortly after this marriage, and Uncas had to submit to Tatobem's authority. Tatobem was captured and killed by the Dutch in 1632 – and, in 1633, **Sassacus** became **grand sachem**; but Uncas felt that he deserved to be sachem, and led the Mohegans in rebellion against domination by the Pequots.

Owaneco's alliance with Tatobem was based upon **a balance of power between the Mohegans and Pequots**. After the death of Owaneco, the balance changed in favour of the Pequots. Uncas was unwilling to challenge the power of Tatobem; *however*, but *nevertheless* began contesting Pequot authority over the Mohegans. In 1634 with Narragansett support, **Uncas rebelled against Sassacus and Pequot authority**. He was defeated and became an exile among the Narragansetts; but *he* soon returned and, after ritually humiliating himself before Sassacus, lost land and the respect of his followers.

Uncas saw *that* the English Puritan, though few in number, had better weapons and much courage, so he started to develop a new strategy and alliance to work towards his **ultimate goal of Grand Sachem**. Sassacus and the Pequots were defeated by the English along with their Narragansett and Mohegan allies in the **Pequot War** (q.v.).

Sassacus fled to what he thought was **safety among the Iroquois Mohawks in present-day New York, but they murdered him and sent his head and hands to the English as a symbolic offering of friendship** with the Connecticut Colony.

<sup>58</sup> **Major Charles Frost**, the highest-ranking military leader in Maine during **King William's War** until he was killed by Indians along with a number of other local residents at **Ambush Rock**: (Reportedly natives killed him because he was involved with **Richard Waldron** during **King Philips War**).

<sup>59</sup> The **Piscataqua River area** is a 12-mile-long (19 km) tidal river forming the boundary of the states of New Hampshire and Maine from its origin at the confluence of the Salmon Falls River and Concheco River.

<sup>60</sup> A New England vessel in the Azores notified the authorities in Boston of this **illegal activity**, and **Endeavor** was seized and taken to Boston; Melanson was released when his mother, **Priscilla Melanson**, bailed him out – after this, he skipped bail, and went into hiding, changing his surname to **Laverdure** to avoid detection, and lived in Port Royal thereafter. **Henry Lawton** and **William Waldron** were kept in jail but were eventually acquitted.

[*Richard Waldron was appointed Chief Justice for New Hampshire in 1683.*]

<sup>61</sup> In the meeting with the Iroquois Andros was given the name “**Corlaer**,” a name historically used by the Iroquois to refer to the Dutch governor in New Netherland and continued when the English took over the colony and renamed it New York (in the same way the French governor was dubbed “**Onontio**”).

this idea. Following La Salle's instructions, Tonti took five men and departed up the river to evaluate the suitability of the Starved Rock site (v.i.).

And, in the fall of 1678, La Salle also started building the seven-cannon 45-ton barque *Le Griffon*<sup>62</sup> on the upper Niagara River at-or-near Cayuga Creek... being built as an auxiliary force to Fort Frontenac, specifically, on Lake Ontario (which at the same time was called *Lac de Frontenac*).

On 7 August 1679, *Le Griffon* was launched. It was the largest sailing vessel on the Great Lakes up to that time. La Salle sailed *Le Griffon* up Lake Erie to Lake Huron, then up to Michilimackinac and on to present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin. *Le Griffon* left for Niagara with a load of furs, but was never seen again.

In the spring of 1679, as soon as the ice began to break up along the western shores of Lake Erie, La Salle sent out men from Fort Frontenac in 15 canoes down the western shore of Lake Michigan laden with supplies and merchandise to trade with the Illinois for furs at the trading posts of the upper Huron and Michigan Lakes. Rounding the southern end, at the mouth of the St-Joseph River, where Chartier helped to build a stockade in November 1679; they completed their task in January 1680, calling it Fort Miami (now known as St. Joseph, Michigan). There they waited for Henri de Tonti and his party, who had crossed the Lower Peninsula of Michigan on foot.

Tonti arrived on November 20<sup>th</sup>; on December 3<sup>rd</sup>, the entire party set off up the St-Joseph, which they followed until they had to take a portage at present-day South Bend, Indiana - they crossed to the Kankakee River and followed it to the Illinois River, where they started construction on Fort Crèvecoeur (v.s.) on 15 January, 1680, in which Mass was celebrated and the Gospel preached by Franciscan Récollets Gabriel Ribourde, Zenobius Membre O.M.R.<sup>63</sup> and Belgian missionary Louis Hennepin.<sup>64</sup> La Salle left him (Tonti) to hold Fort Crèvecoeur - the first public building erected by White men and the first fort built in the West by the French (founded on the east bank of the Illinois River, in the Illinois Country near the present site of Creve Coeur, a suburb of Peoria, Illinois), while La Salle returned north (to Ontario). They

<sup>62</sup> *Le Griffon* was the largest fixed-rig sailing vessel on the Great Lakes up to that time, and led the way to modern commercial shipping in that part of the world. Creating a fur trade monopoly with the Native Americans would finance his quest and building *Le Griffon* was an "essential link in the scheme." Before 1673, the most common vessel on the lakes was the canoe. While smaller canoes were used on rivers and streams, lake canoes were more commonly larger vessels measuring up to about 35 feet (11 m) long. While some of these were made from a single carved log ("dug out" or "pirogue"), most were bark canoes. Bateaux were also common: They were open vessels (no deck) made of wood measuring up to about 35 feet (11 m) long and capable of carrying three-or-four tons of cargo. While they were at times fitted with mast and sails, their primary propulsion was either oars or poles. The sails were merely supplemental for traveling down wind. Their inefficiency at beating to windward made them impractical as sailing vessels, and they were not very safe in open water.

<sup>63</sup> In 1681 Membre descended the Mississippi River with La Salle to the Gulf of Mexico, returned with the leader of the expedition to Europe by way of Canada. There he became Guardian of the Franciscan friary in his native city.

Membre returned to America and in 1684, along with two other Franciscans and three Sulpicians, sailed with La Salle, intending to found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River, but inaccurate maps and navigational errors caused them to anchor 400 miles (644 km) west, off the coast of Texas near Matagorda Bay. La Salle erected Fort St-Louis, a 50-mile (80 km) overland trek from Matagorda Bay in 1685, (near what is now Inez, Texas). Membre endeavored to establish a mission among the Cenis nation (Hasinai). In this he failed.

After about two years Membre was killed, along with Père Maximus Le Cerq, Père Chefdeville, and the small garrison which La Salle had left at the settlement.

<sup>64</sup> At the request of Louis XIV the Récollets sent four missionaries to Nouveau France in May 1675, including Hennepin, accompanied by René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. In 1676 Hennepin went to the Indian mission at Fort Frontenac, and from there to the Mohawks.

In 1678, Hennepin was ordered by his provincial superior to accompany La Salle on an expedition to explore the western part of Nouveau France. Hennepin departed in 1679 with La Salle from Québec City to construct the 45-ton barque *Le Griffon*, sail through the Great Lakes, and explore the unknown West in his quest to find the Northwest Passage to the Orient.

Hennepin was with La Salle at the construction of Fort Crèvecoeur in January 1680. In February, La Salle sent Hennepin and two others as an advance party to search for the Mississippi River. The party followed the Illinois River to its junction with the Mississippi. Shortly thereafter, Hennepin was captured by a Sioux war party and carried off for a time into what is now the state of Minnesota.

In September 1680, thanks to Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut, Hennepin and the others were given canoes and allowed to leave, eventually returning to Québec. Hennepin returned to France and was never allowed by his Order to return to North America. Local historians credit the Franciscan Récollet friar as the first European to step ashore at the site of present-day Hannibal, Missouri.

finished the fort in early March, naming it "Fort Broken Heart" because of the tribulations, including desertions, which they suffered during its construction.

Since his arrival in the colony of Nouveau France, Bishop Laval insisted on establishing and organizing a parochial system, on top of training priests in the colony itself. In 1678, he had obtained an edict from the king stating that permanent curacies would be set up in the colony. A few years later, in 1681, Laval drew up the boundaries of parishes in an attempt to permanently solidify the Church's position. Often visiting each parish, Laval eventually realized that his health was declining and that he could no longer run his large diocese, which extended from Acadia to Lake Michigan.

On 1 March 1680, La Salle set off on foot for Fort Frontenac for supplies (including rigging for the ship), leaving Henri de Tonti to hold Fort Crèvecoeur. While on his return trip up the Illinois River, La Salle concluded that Starved Rock might provide an ideal location for another fortification and sent word downriver to Tonti regarding this idea. Following La Salle's instructions, Tonti took five men and departed up the river to evaluate the suitability of the Starved Rock site and to seek the junction of the St-Joseph and the Mississippi rivers; he was captured by Sioux warriors and held for several months.

While on his return trip up the Illinois River, La Salle concluded that Starved Rock might provide an ideal location for another fortification and sent word downriver to Tonti regarding this idea. Following La Salle's instructions, Henri de Tonti had left Fort Crèvecoeur on April 15<sup>th</sup> with Père Ribourde and two other men, to begin fortifying the settlement and Fort St-Louis at Starved Rock. The next day, shortly after Tonti's departure, on April 16<sup>th</sup>, the seven members of the expedition remaining the fort, which were fearful of being attacked by the Iroquois raiding parties, were incited by Martin Chartier to mutiny, plundering the provisions and ammunition, throwing into the river all the arms, goods, and stores which they could not carry off, and then burning the fort to the ground before beginning their own march back to Canada. The men were demanding that La Salle return with them to Montréal, which he was unwilling to do. In addition, one of the mutineers who were later captured - the shipbuilder Moÿse Hillaret - testified that "some [of the men] had had no pay for three years," and alleged that La Salle had mistreated them.

At Fort St-Louis (Starved Rock), two men who had been at the fort told Tonti of its destruction. Tonti sent messengers to La Salle in Canada with a report on these events. Tonti thence returned to Fort Crèvecoeur to collect any tools not destroyed and moved them to the Kaskaskia Village at Starved Rock. Later, in August, La Salle captured a few of the mutineers on Lake Ontario, but not Chartier, who was following the south shore of Lake Ontario headed for Albany, New York, as a part of a second group of deserters, while the others, who were eventually captured, were pursuing La Salle, intending to kill him.

Chartier was now an outlaw, however, he apparently returned to Montréal, from where he resolved to follow the Shawnees and, in August 1685, taking a canoe, he went after them three hundred leagues (about 900 miles) in forty days - to Lake Michigan, then on to the Cumberland River in Tennessee, evidently in search of his wife and adolescent daughter.<sup>65</sup> He guessed the way, being guided by the course of the river, and found water in all places... and when he finally came upon them [the Shawnee] they made him very welcome.

After reuniting with his family, Chartier visited the future site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, then crossed the Alleghenies - part of the vast Appalachian Mountain Range of the Eastern United States and Canada, which posed a significant barrier to land travel in that less technologically advanced era - and traveled further along the Susquehanna River - a major river located in the northeastern and mid-Atlantic United States - the longest river on the East Coast of the United States that drains into the Atlantic Ocean... and one of the oldest existing rivers in the world.

On 10 September 1680, nearly six hundred Iroquois warriors, armed with guns, approached the Kaskaskia village. Meeting them in advance, Tonti was accused of treachery, by both the Iroquois and the Illinois Confederation. Tonti tried to mediate their disagreements and delay the Iroquois attack until the women, children and old people could escape from the village. Tonti was wounded by an Iroquois man, who stabbed him with a knife. The Kaskaskia village was burned and the Iroquois built a fort on that site near Starved Rock. Tonti with his allies fled the area, heading for La Baye - a small trading post established on the Baie des Puants in 1634 by Jean Nicolet, Sieur de Bellebournie son of Thomas Nicollet, who was "messenger ordinary of the King between Paris and Cherbourg," and Marguerite de Lamer

<sup>65</sup> Mary Seaworth (Sewatha) Chartier (1687-1732) was born in Frederick County, Virginia in 1687.



- *a French coureurs des bois* and a known friend of **Samuel de Champlain** and **Étienne Brûlé**, noted for discovering and exploring Lake Michigan, Mackinac Island, Green Bay, and being *the first European to set foot in what is now the state of Wisconsin*..

In 1681, La Salle launched an expedition down the Mississippi River from Nouveau France, at first believing he would find *a path to the Pacific Ocean*. Instead, La Salle found a route to the Gulf of Mexico. Although **Hernando De Soto** had explored and claimed this area for Spain 140 years before, on 9 April 1682, **La Salle claimed the Mississippi River valley for French king Louis XIV**, naming the territory **La Louisiane** in his honour.

In February 1682, La Salle started his 5<sup>th</sup> expedition. He led a party of 41 on *a canoe expedition from what is modern Peoria County, Illinois, located on the banks of the Illinois River, to the mouth of the Mississippi River in order to explore the Mississippi River basin*. On their trip downriver, the expedition landed their canoes to hunt, when one of their members went missing. The armoured by the name of **Pierre Prud'homme** was *assumed captured by Chickasaw Indians*. La Salle decided to stay and search for the missing participant of the expedition.

**Fort Prud'homme** was *a simple stockade fortification*, constructed on one of the **Chickasaw Bluffs** of the **Mississippi River in West Tennessee**. The fortification was intended to provide shelter during the search: Ten days after his disappearance, the missing member of the expedition, who had lost his way while hunting, found his way back to the camp, unharmed but starving. Fort Prud'homme was *the first structure built by the French in Tennessee*; its exact location is not known. The expedition resumed their trip downstream and **La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi River** on 6 April 1682. He claimed the entire Mississippi River valley for France... *and it remained a French possession until 1762*.

Unless France established a base at the mouth of the Mississippi, Spain would have an opportunity to control the entire Gulf of Mexico and *potentially* pose a threat to Nouveau France's southern borders. La Salle believed that the Mississippi River was near the eastern edge of **Nueva España (New Spain)**. On his return to France in 1684, he proposed to the Crown *the establishment of a colony at the mouth of the river*. The colony could provide *a base for promoting Christianity among the native peoples as well as a convenient location for attacking the Spanish province of Nueva Vizcaya* and gaining control of its *lucrative silver mines* (v.s.). He argued that a small number of Frenchmen could successfully invade Nueva España by allying themselves with some of the more than 15,000 Native Americans who were angry over **Spanish enslavement**.

When **La Salle returned to France**, he left Tonti behind to hold Fort St-Louis on the Illinois River. He was to relinquish this control for a period to **Louis-Henri de Baugy, Chevalier de Baugy**, under the orders of Frontenac. Baugy was from a noble family of France and had come to Nouveau France as *a member of the La Barré party - him replacing Frontenac as Governor General*.

Chevalier de Baugy had arrived at Québec the year before - in 1682 - and immediately became involved in *the fur trade of the Great Lakes*; namely, putting an end to the dominant position of Cavelier de La Salle in that area. Under La Barré's authority, **de Baugy took control of Fort St-Louis** (Illinois) on the Illinois River from Tonti in 1683. In February 1684 *the fort was besieged by a force of 500 Iroquois for eight days*. Despite limited ammunition and provisions, the defenders withstood three assaults, and *the Iroquois were forced to abandon their attacks and withdraw* the way they had come. In 1685, La Salle was given back control of Fort St-Louis by the French king. *De Baugy, as Denonville's aide-de-camp, took part in at least one more campaign in Canada, in 1687, with Denonville against the Senecas; but, in 1689, he left for France and did not return*.

### French Colonization of Texas

La Salle originally planned to sail to Nouveau France, journey overland to the south and Illinois Country, and then travel down the Mississippi River to its mouth. To spite Spain, **Louis XIV insisted that La Salle sail through the Gulf of Mexico, which Spain considered its exclusive property**. Although La Salle had requested only one ship, on 24 July 1684, he left La Rochelle, France with four: the 36-gun man of war **Le Joly**, the 300-ton storeship **L'Aimable**, the barque **La Belle**, and the ketch **St-François**. Although Louis XIV had provided both **Le Joly** and **La Belle**, La Salle desired more cargo space and leased **L'Aimable** and **St-François** from French merchants. Louis *also* provided soldiers and full crews for the ships, *as well as funds to hire skilled workers to join the expedition*. Yet La Salle was forced to purchase trade goods himself for expected encounters with Native Americans.

The *ships carried a total of nearly 300 people*, including 100 soldiers, artisans and craftsmen, six Catholic missionaries, eight merchants, and *over a dozen women and children*. Shortly after their departure from La Rochelle, on June 24<sup>th</sup>, **France and Spain ceased hostilities**, and Louis was no longer interested in sending La Salle further assistance. Details of the voyage were kept secret so that Spain would not learn about it. La Salle's naval commander, le **Sieur de Beaujeu**, resented La Salle's keeping their destination secret until the party was well underway. The discord between the two intensified when they reached **St-Domingue on the island of Hispaniola**, and quarreled over where to anchor. Beaujeu sailed to another part of the island, allowing **Spanish privateers** to capture the **St-François**, which had been fully loaded with supplies, provisions, and tools for the colony.

During the **58-day voyage**, two people died of illness and *one woman gave birth to a child*. The voyage to St-Domingue had lasted longer than expected, and provisions ran low, especially after the loss of the **St-François**. La Salle had little money with which to replenish supplies, and *finally two of the merchants aboard the expedition sold some of their trade goods to the islanders*, and lent their profits to La Salle. To fill the gaps left after *several men deserted*, La Salle recruited a few islanders to join the expedition.

In late-November 1684, whence **La Salle hadst fully recovered from a severe illness**, the three remaining ships continued their search for the **Mississippi River delta**. Before they left **Santo Domingo**, local sailors warned that strong Gulf currents flowed east and would tug the ships toward the Florida straits unless they corrected for it. On December 18<sup>th</sup>, the ships reached the Gulf of Mexico and entered *waters that Spain claimed as its territory*. None of the members of the expedition had ever been in the Gulf of Mexico or knew how to navigate it. Due to a combination of inaccurate maps, La Salle's previous miscalculation of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and overcorrection for the currents, the expedition failed to find the Mississippi. Instead, they landed at **Matagorda Bay** in early-1685, 400 miles (640 km) west of the Mississippi.

On 20 February 1685, the colonists set foot on land for the first time in three months since leaving St-Domingue.

"The country did not seem very favorable to me. It was flat and sandy but did nevertheless produce grass. There were several salt pools. We hardly saw any wild fowl except some cranes and Canadian (sic) geese which were not expecting us."

**Henri Joutel**, chronicler of the expedition and commander of La Salle's southern colony, Fort St-Louis (Texas)

They set up a temporary camp and the **French colonization of Texas** began with the establishment of *a fort in present-day southeastern Texas near Arenosa Creek and Matagorda Bay* by explorer La Salle. He intended to found the colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River, but *inaccurate maps and navigational errors* caused his ships to anchor *instead* 400 miles (640 km) to the west, off the coast of Texas: *(The colony survived until 1688)*.

Against Beaujeu's advice, La Salle ordered **La Belle** and the **L'Aimable** "to negotiate the narrow and shallow pass" to bring the supplies closer to the campsite. To lighten **L'Aimable's** load, its eight cannons and a small portion of its cargo were removed. After **La Belle** successfully negotiated the pass, La Salle sent her pilot to **L'Aimable** to assist with the navigation, but **L'Aimable's** captain refused the help. As the **L'Aimable** set sail, a band of **Karankawa**<sup>66</sup> approached and carried off some of the settlers. La Salle led a small group of soldiers to rescue them, leaving no one to direct the **L'Aimable**. When he returned, he found **L'Aimable** grounded on a sandbar. Upon hearing that the captain had ordered the ship to sail forward after it had struck a sandbar, **La Salle became convinced that the captain had deliberately grounded the ship**.

For several days the men attempted to salvage the tools and provisions that had been loaded on the **L'Aimable**, but *a bad storm* prevented them from recovering more than food, cannons, powder, and a small amount of the merchandise. The ship sank on March 7<sup>th</sup>. The French watched the Karankawa

<sup>66</sup> The **Karankawa** were a Native American people concentrated in *southern Texas along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico*. They consisted of *several independent seasonal nomadic groups* who shared the same language and much of the same culture. After *establishing relations with the Spanish empire in the sixteenth century*, the Karankawa played an important role in the goals of the Spanish empire, relations between the French, Spanish and English empires, and the **Texan-Mexican War**. In subsequent years, the Karankawa were *repeatedly attacked by Texan colonists*, who drove them out of their native territories. By the 1840s, the Karankawa split into two groups [ ] and, *by 1891, the Karankawa as an organized tribe was believed to be extinct*.

loot the wreckage. As French soldiers approached the Native American village to retrieve their supplies, the villagers hid. Upon discovering the deserted village, the soldiers not only reclaimed the looted merchandise but also took animal pelts and two canoes. The angry Karankawa attacked, killing two Frenchmen and injuring others.

Beaujeu, having fulfilled his mission in escorting the colonists across the ocean, returned to France aboard the *Joly* in mid-March 1685. Many of the colonists chose to return to France with him, leaving *approximately* 180. Although Beaujeu delivered a message from La Salle requesting additional supplies, French authorities, having made peace with Spain, never responded. The remaining colonists suffered from *dysentery* and *venereal diseases*, and *people died daily*. Those who were fit helped build crude dwellings and a temporary fort on Matagorda Island.

On March 24<sup>th</sup>, La Salle took 52 men in five canoes to find *a less exposed settlement site*. They found *Garcitas Creek* that had fresh water and fish, with good soil along its banks. They named it *Rivière aux Boeufs* for the nearby buffalo herds. The fort was constructed on a bluff overlooking the creek, 1.5 leagues from its mouth. Two men died, one of *a rattlesnake bite* and another from *drowning while trying to fish*. At night, the Karankawa would sometimes surround the camp and howl, but the soldiers could scare them away with a few gun shots. The fort has sometimes been referred to as "Fort St-Louis" but that name was not used during the life of the settlement and appears to be a later invention.

In early June, La Salle summoned the rest of the colonists from the temporary campsite to the new settlement site. Seventy people began the 50 mile (80 km) overland trek on June 12<sup>th</sup>. All of the supplies had to be hauled from the *Belle*, a physically draining task that was finally completed by the middle of July. The last load was accompanied by the 30 men who had remained behind to guard the ship. Although trees grew near the site, they were not suitable for building, and timber had to be transported to the building site from several miles inland. Some timbers were salvaged from *L'Aimable*. By the end of July, *over half of the settlers had died*, most from a combination of scant rations and overwork.

The remaining settlers built *a large two-story structure* at the center of the settlement. The ground floor was divided into three rooms: one for La Salle, one for the priests, and one for the officers of the expedition. The upper story consisted of a single room used to store supplies. Surrounding the fort were several smaller structures to provide shelter for the other members of the expedition. The eight cannons, each weighing 700-to-1200 pounds (320-to-540 kg), had been salvaged from *L'Aimable* and were positioned around the colony for protection.

For several months after the permanent camp was built, the colonists took short trips to explore their surroundings. At the end of October 1685, La Salle decided to undertake a longer expedition and reloaded the crew of the *Belle* with many of the remaining supplies. He took 50 men, plus 27 sailors from the *Belle*, leaving behind 34 men, women, and children. Most of the men traveled with La Salle in canoes, while the *Belle* followed further off the coast. After three days of travel, they learned of hostile Indians in the area. Twenty of the Frenchmen attacked the Native village, where they found Spanish artifacts. Several of the men died on this expedition from *eating prickly pear*. Moreover, the Karankawa killed a small group of the men who had camped on shore, including the captain of the *Belle*.

From January until March 1686, La Salle and most of his men searched overland for the Mississippi River, traveling towards the Rio Grande, *possibly as far west as modern-day Langtry, Texas*. The men questioned the local Native American tribes, asking for information on the *locations of the Spaniards and the Spanish mines*, offering gifts, and telling stories that portrayed the Spanish as cruel and the French as benevolent. When the group returned, they were *unable to find the Belle* where they had left her and were forced to walk back to the fort.

The following month they traveled east, hoping to locate the Mississippi and return to Canada. During their travels, the group encountered the *Caddo Nation* - a confederacy of several Southeastern Native American tribes, who gave the Frenchmen a map depicting their territory, that of their neighbors, and *the location of the Mississippi River*. The Caddo often made *friendship pacts* with neighboring peoples and extended their *policy of peaceful negotiation* to the French. While visiting the Caddo, the French met *Jumano*<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> The *Jumanos* were *a prominent indigenous tribe* or several tribes, who inhabited a large area of western Texas, adjacent New Mexico, and northern Mexico, especially near the La Junta de los Rios region with its large settled Indian population. *Spanish explorers* first recorded encounters with the Jumano in 1581. Spanish records from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries frequently refer to the Jumano Indians, later expeditions noting

*traders*, who reported on the activities of the Spanish in New Mexico. These traders *later* informed Spanish officials of the Frenchmen they had seen.

Four of the men deserted when they reached the *Neches River*. La Salle and one of his nephews became very ill, forcing the group to halt for two months. While the men recovered, the group ran low on food and gunpowder. In August, the eight surviving members of the expedition returned to Fort St-Louis, having never left East Texas.

While La Salle was gone, six of those who had remained on the *Belle* finally arrived at Fort St-Louis. According to them, the new captain of the *Belle* was always drunk. Many of the sailors did not know how to sail, and they grounded the boat on *Matagorda Peninsula*. The survivors took a canoe to the fort, leaving the ship behind. The destruction of their last ship left the settlers *stranded on the Texas coast*, with no hope of gaining assistance from the *French colonies in the Caribbean Sea*.

As said, *the colony faced numerous difficulties* during its brief existence, including *Native American raids, epidemics, and harsh conditions*. From that base, La Salle led *several expeditions to find the Mississippi River*. These did not succeed, but *La Salle explored much of the Rio Grande and parts of east Texas*. During one of his absences in 1686, the colony's last ship was wrecked, leaving the *colonists unable to obtain resources from the French colonies of the Caribbean*. As conditions deteriorated, La Salle realized *the colony could survive only with help from the French settlements in Illinois Country* to the north, along the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers.

La Salle's mission had remained secret until 1686 when *former expedition member Denis Thomas*, who had deserted in *Santo Domingo*, was *arrested for piracy*. Trying to have his punishment reduced, Thomas informed his Spanish jailers of La Salle's plan to found a colony and eventually conquer Spanish silver mines. Despite his confession, Thomas was hanged.

Thus Spain had learned of La Salle's mission. Concerned that the French colony could threaten Spain's control over the *Viceroyalty of Nueva España* and the unsettled southeastern region of North America, **Charles II of Spain** "*El Hechizado*" ("*the Bewitched*"), last Habsburg ruler of the Spanish Empire, *funded multiple expeditions to locate and eliminate the settlement*. A Council of War sent a sea expedition and two land expeditions to locate La Salle's colony. Although these expeditions were unable to find La Salle [ ] four further expeditions the following year failed to find La Salle, but did help Spain to better understand *the geography of the Gulf Coast region*.

By early January 1687, fewer than 45 of the original 180 people remained in the colony, which was beset by *internal strife*. La Salle believed *that their only hope of survival lay in trekking overland to request assistance from Nouveau France*, and some time that month he led *a final expedition* to try to reach the Illinois Country. Fewer than 20 people remained at Fort St-Louis, primarily women, children, and those deemed unfit, *as well as* seven soldiers and three missionaries with whom La Salle was unhappy. Seventeen men were included on the expedition, including La Salle, his brother, and two of his nephews. While camping (*near present-day Navasota*) on March 18<sup>th</sup>, *several of the men quarreled over the division of buffalo meat*. That night, *an expedition member killed one of La Salle's nephews and two other men in their sleep*. The following day *La Salle himself was killed* while approaching the camp to investigate his nephew's disappearance. *Infighting led to the deaths of two other expedition members* within a short time. Two of the surviving members, including *Jean L'Archevêque son of Claude L'Archevêque and Marie d'Armagnac*<sup>68</sup> - whom (age 12) had joined La Salle -

them in a broad area of the Southwest and the Great Plains; and the French mentioned them in areas to the east, *as well*. During the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they were *noted as traders and political leaders* in the Southwest. The Jumanos disappeared as a distinct people by 1750 due to *infectious disease, the slave trade, and warfare*, with *remnants absorbed by the Apache and/or Comanche*.

<sup>68</sup> *The L'Archevêque family was Catholic* while in Bayonne, but the family had been *bourgeois Huguenots (French Protestant Calvinists)* in Bordeaux prior to the conversion of Pierre L'Archevêque *Jean L'Archevêque's paternal grandfather*. The family relocated to Bayonne in the 1650s.

In May 1692, *L'Archevêque and Grollet* petitioned to be released, arguing that *they had committed no crimes against Spain*. The *Junta De Guerra de Indias war council* reviewed the petition, but could not recommend they be set free outright because their knowledge of Spanish territory could have weakened Spain's position against France. However, the war council *also* could not recommend keeping them isolated in royal jail while at peace with France because Louis XIV would have had grounds for their repatriation. After *swearing an oath to Spain*, the war council allowed the men to return to Spanish territory controlled by the *Viceroy of New Spain Don Gaspar Melchor Baltasar de la Cerda Silva Sandoval y Mendoza, Conde de*

now joined the Caddo. The remaining six men, led by **Henri Joutel**, made their way to Illinois Country. During their journey north, over land and river, by way of the Illinois Country to Nouveau France in what became Canada, the men did not tell anyone that La Salle was dead. *They reached France in the summer of 1688 and informed King Louis of La Salle's death and the horrible conditions in the colony. Louis did not send aid.*

Although a *handful of men reached Illinois Country*, help never made it to the fort. Most of *the remaining members of the colony were killed during a Karankawa raid* in late-1688. *four children survived after being adopted as captives*. Although the colony lasted only three years, it established France's claim to possession of the region *that is now Texas*. *The United States later claimed, unsuccessfully, this region as part of the Louisiana Purchase because of the early French colony. When the Spanish finally discovered the remains of the French colony at the fort in 1689, they buried the cannons and burned the buildings.*

**L'Archevêque** quickly tired of his life with the Caddo. In 1689, he and his companion, **Jacques Grollet**, wrote a note asking for rescue. They gave the note to the Caddo, who passed it on to the Jumano Indians while trading. The Jumano were allied with the Spanish and brought a packet of documents to Spanish authorities in New Mexico. The documents included a parchment painting of the *Joly*, as well as a written message from L'Archevêque. The message read:

"I do not know what sort of people you are. We are French [ ] we are among the savages [ ] we would like much to be Among the Christians such as we are [ ] ... we are solely grieved to be among beasts like these who believe neither in God nor in anything. Gentlemen, if you are willing to take us away, you have only to send a message... we will deliver ourselves up to you."

**Jean Gery**, a deserter from the 1685 La Salle expedition, became chief of a *group of Coahuiltecan Indians*,<sup>69</sup> claiming that he had been sent by God to rule over them. He was brought to Monclova, and later to Mexico City, by **Alonso de León González "El Mozo"** ("the younger") *third son of celebrated chronicler and conquistador of the frontier of Nuevo León, General Alonso De León and Josefa González*, the Spanish governor of Coahuila.

*Gelvey y Señor de Salcedón y Tortola*, where they would be out of reach of the French, and granted them an additional stipend and a soldier's rations for the voyage. They departed from Cádiz to Veracruz with **Admiral Andrés de Pez** in 1692.

By the time of **L'Archevêque's death** he had become known as **Captain Juan de Archibeque**. He was credited with *honorable military service* and had become a *successful merchant-trader*. His [ ] notes of credit were accepted and endorsed by those connected to the government. He is the *progenitor of the Archibeque family of New Mexico*.

<sup>69</sup> The **Coahuiltecan** were various small, autonomous bands of Native Americans who inhabited the *Rio Grande valley in what is now southern Texas and northeastern Mexico*. The various Coahuiltecan groups were *hunter-gatherers*. First *encountered by Europeans in the sixteenth century*, they became *victims of epidemics of imported European diseases and slavery* or were killed during the small-scale wars *Coahuiltecan bands fought against the Spanish, criollo, Apache, and other Coahuiltecan groups*. The survivors were absorbed into the *Hispanic and mestizo population* of Southern Texas or northern Mexico.

The Coahuiltecan lived in the flat, brushy, dry country of southern Texas, *roughly south of a line from the Gulf Coast at the mouth of the Guadalupe River to San Antonio and westward to around Del Rio*. They lived on both sides of the Rio Grande. Their neighbors along the Texas coast were the **Karankawa** and inland to their northeast were *the cannibalistic Tonkawa*. Both tribes were *possibly* related by language to some of the Coahuiltecan. To their north were the **Jumano**. Later the **Lipan Apache and Comanche** migrated into this area.

The **Criollo** are Latin Americans who are *of full or near full Spanish descent*, distinguishing them from both multi-racial Latin Americans and Latin Americans of post-colonial (and not necessarily Spanish) European immigrant origin. Historically, they were *a social class in the hierarchy of the overseas colonies* established by Spain beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Hispanic America, comprising the *locally-born people of Spanish ancestry*. Although Criollos were legally Spaniards, in practice, *they ranked below the Iberian-born Peninsulares*. Nevertheless, they had preeminence over all the other populations: *Amerindians, enslaved Africans*, and peoples of combined European and Native American descent (i.e. mestizos).

According to the *Casta system*, a *criollo* could have *up to 1/8 (one great-grandparent or equivalent) Amerindian ancestry* without losing social place (see *Limpieza de sangre*). In the 18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, changes in the Spanish Empire's policies towards its colonies led to *tensions between Criollos and Peninsulares*. The growth of local Criollo political and economic strength in their separate colonies coupled with their global geographic distribution led them to each evolve a separate (both from each other and Spain) organic national personality and viewpoint. Criollos were the vanguard and the main supporters of the *Spanish American wars of independence*.

Alonso De León rescued L'Archevêque and Grollet. On interrogation, the men maintained that *over 100 of the French settlers had died of smallpox*, and the *others had been killed by the Karankawa*. The only people known to have survived the final attack were *the Talon children*, who had been adopted by the Karankawa. According to the children, the Indians had attacked around Christmas in 1688, killing the remaining settlers.

L'Archevêque and Grollet were taken first to **Mexico City**. In the summer of 1689, they sailed with **Captain Andrés de Pez y Malzarraga**<sup>70</sup> as prisoners to Spain, and arrived in Madrid in January 1690. Five months later, they petitioned for a stipend of two Spanish reals per day, which was granted, then they were forgotten in prison for almost two years

Three years after the colony collapsed, **Tonti** learned from remnants of **La Salle's ill-fated Texas settlement** of La Salle's was attempt to ascend the Mississippi River. Tonti proceeded south on his own in an attempt to meet La Salle on his ascent. He failed to find La Salle and made it to the Gulf of Mexico before turning back. He left several men near the mouth of the **Arkansas River** to establish a trading post there on land granted to him by La Salle for his service. *This location would become the historical Arkansas Post, the first permanent European settlement in the lower Mississippi region.*

### Troupes de la marine (French Marines in Canada)

The **Troupes de la marine (French Marines in Canada)** were first sent to Canada in 1683 after *an upsurge of Iroquois hostilities* but not in other parts of Nouveau France, such as **Acadia**, **Plaisance**, and **Île-Royale**. The *basic unit of the Marines in Canada* was the company, with three or four officers, two sergeants, four corporals and lance-corporals, and a total complement of 33-to-52 officers and other ranks. The number of marines during the period peaked in 1688 with a total strength of 1750 officers and other ranks. The other ranks were recruited in France, and were mostly volunteers, although Canada was not an attractive place to serve in: *(Unskilled labourers dominated and almost a third of them came from the western parts of France; on the other hand, the officer corps was the subject of a gradual process of canadianization, with about a third of the officers serving in 1715 born in Canada)*.

The object of first troupes de la marine sent to Canada in 1683 was to *defeat the Iroquois... and then return to France*. La Barre's failed expedition against the Senecas in 1684 changed this, and from the following year the troupes became *a permanent standing force in the colony*, the colonial regular troops.

The original 150 marines of 1683 increased the next year to 500, and with the arrival of governor Denonville, bringing an additional 300 men, reached strength of 800 marines in 1685. Two years later an additional 800 marines arrived from France. In 1688 the required strength was 1750 other ranks, although due to losses the actual strength was 1418. The 35 substrength companies were consolidated to 28, with 50 other ranks in each. *A reduction from 50 to 30 men per company took place in 1699, reducing the required strength to 840 other ranks.*

The actual strength was always somewhat lower than the required strength. Officer's billets were always filled, but the actual number of private marines was almost always lower than the required strength. With the reduction of the number of companies from 1689, there was a small surplus of officers from the reduced companies, serving as extra officers.

**Recruits** had to be 20–30 years old, 158 cm (5 ft) tall, and fit for service. Single men were preferred. Most of the recruits were volunteers, but since *service in Canada was not attractive*, sometimes deception or violence was used to induce young men into the Marines. Wishing to avoid such chicanery, the government removed the height requirement *and gradually lowered the age requirement until it was set at 15 in 1706*. *Catholic prisoners of war from Ireland and Scotland* also became available for recruitment. When Canada

<sup>70</sup> **Andrés de Pez** was born into a naval tradition. His father and older brother were Spanish Naval captains. In 1676, he fought the French in the *Battle of Palermo*, where his brother and father were killed. He then became *a company commander in the Caribbean*, guarding Spanish ships and colonies from foreign attackers and pirates. He earned *a reputation for outstanding bravery and efficiency*, being *wounded five times*. He was selected to explore and claim the largely unmapped coasts of the northern Gulf of Mexico. He participated as second in command on three of these voyages between 1688 and 1689.

During the **War of the Spanish Succession**, he supported the **Bourbon King Philip V of Spain** and fought the British, Dutch and Catalans who supported **Charles VI of Austria**. He served as captain general of the Indies fleet from 1708 to 1710. Pez became in 1715 a member of Spain's **Supreme War Council**. In 1717 he was named *governor of the Council of the Indies*, and was named *secretary of state and navy* in 1721.

urgently needed more marines, both *deserters and civilian criminals*, who had not been subjected to corporal punishment, were released if they enlisted for military service in Canada: Sometimes prisoners were sentenced to serve in the Marines in Canada, something that hurt volunteer recruitment. From 1686, each newly raised company also included a veteran core of 14 non-commissioned officers and men from the Marine guards in French posts.

The marines drilled with *muskets* twice a week, and practiced with *grenades* once a week. One marine from each company were selected for extended training in handling *cannons, mortars and grenades*. When trained, these marines were replaced by another set of marines. Standing guard was a perpetual duty, winter or summer. When living in tents in summertime, the marines were doing *road work* or *working on the colony's fortifications*. Transportation of goods to the Western post, and of fur back to Montréal, was also the task of the marines. Military patrols on the large rivers and through the settled areas in search of hostile Indians were the most important military duty performed outside actual combat.

### “Vive le Roi!”

**Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau**, Governor General of Nouveau France established a number of *forts on the Great Lakes* and engaged in *a series of battles against the English and the Iroquois*. In his first term, he supported *the expansion of the fur trade*, establishing **Fort Frontenac** (in what is now Kingston, Ontario) and came into *conflict with the other members of the Sovereign Council* over its expansion and over the *corvées required to build the new forts*. In particular, despite opposition by **Bishop François de Laval**, he supported *selling brandy to Aboriginals*, which Laval considered *a mortal sin*: (The conflict with the Sovereign Council led to his recall in 1682).

The **Hudson Bay expedition of 1686** was one of the *Anglo-French conflicts on Hudson Bay*. Circa 1679, Montréal merchants had established a fort on the west side of Lake Timiskaming to compete with the English posts on the Hudson Bay, but it was destroyed by the Iroquois in 1688.

In August 1685, **Pierre de Troyes, Chevalier de Troyes**, a captain in the French army, arrived at Québec with reinforcements for the colony. The **Iroquois Confederacy** had been a nuisance for half a century, hampering Nouveau France's efforts to establish itself as a profitable colony. Although France and England were at peace, in June 1686, **Governor Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, Marquis de Denonville** sent **Sieur de Troyes** north from Montréal on the first of several expeditions with a party of twenty *Troupes de la mariens* (marines) and sixty *Canadien militiamen* (selected for their canoeing skills) out of Montréal, to capture the **Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)** fur trading posts in the southern reaches of *James Bay* (then known as the bottom of Hudson Bay). Among his officers were *three Le Moyne brothers, Pierre, Jacques and Paul*. They were divided into three groups and headed to their destination using the interior waterways.

The mission made *audacious use of canoes for transportation of troops in voyageur style*, left Montréal in March 1686, and traveled more than 800 miles (1300 km) over a period of 82 days, to the northwest “corner” of the *Ottawa River where its course turns from west to southeast* - a natural site for a trading post - about the midpoint of a forty-day journey on the main canoe route from Hudson Bay to the St-Lawrence (*James Bay, Moose Factory, Abitibi River, Lake Abitibi, portage, Lake Timiskaming, Ottawa River southeast to Montréal*). North of **Fort Témiscamingue** the route had not been explored by white men.

Portaging by way of *Lake Timiskaming and Lake Abitibi* (on the Abitibi River) and *Moose River* they arrived at **Moose Factory** - it was occupied by 16 men; its governor, **John Bridgar**, had sailed for **Rupert House** the day before. In the pre-dawn on June 20<sup>th</sup>, brothers **Pierre and Jacques Le Moyne** led teams quietly into the fort, where they tied down its three cannons before launching an attack on *the sleeping garrison* - the assault caught the British entirely by surprise and captured Moose Factory with ease. Pierre Le Moyne forced his way into the redoubt housing the defenders, but the defenders shut the gate behind him, and he had to single-handedly defend himself *with sword and musket* until his soldiers forced the gate open. After a two-hour battle, the garrison surrendered.

Leaving 40 of his men to guard the fort, de Troyes led the rest toward **Rupert House**, 75 miles (121 km) northeast across James Bay. Once again, on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, they attacked *a sleeping garrison*, gaining access to the fort *via a ladder that had been left propped against one of the fort's walls*. They also acquired the *HBC ship Craven*, which had transported Governor Bridgar from Moose Factory. De Troyes brought the captives taken to Moose Factory, and sent **Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville** and the *Craven*, carrying heavy guns loaded from Rupert House, to attack **Fort Albany** on the west side of the Bay, which fell on

July 26<sup>th</sup>. This left **York Factory**, which was too far away and could only be reached by sea.

De Troyes shipped all of the HBC captives off to **Charlton Island**, where a company supply ship *eventually* picked them up. Leaving d'Iberville in charge of the captured forts, de Troyes returned overland to Québec. The victory was swift and profitable; word of the French attack would not reach the English for months.

D'Iberville, after wintering over in the north, made his way first to Québec, and then France. There he was given command of the *Soleil d'Afrique*, with which he returned to Hudson Bay in 1687 to resupply the French and recover the furs that had been seized during the expedition. In September 1688, just as he was preparing to leave Fort Albany, two English warships arrived (*Churchill and Yonge*). Since England and France were at peace, they merely sailed up the river, landed twenty men on an island nearby and, a fortnight later, began to build a barricade, during which three English were shot built. The truce now being broken and the English outnumbering the French (*the English had 85 men and the French, 16 Canadiennes and some number of sailors*), **Governor Marsh** should have attacked, but took no offensive measures. At some point all three ships became frozen in for the winter. D'Iberville, *however*, did: By December the English began to die of *scurvy*. D'Iberville captured the English doctor in the hope of increasing the death rate. A kind of truce was made and there was a considerable amount of coming and going between the two forts. When enough English had died of scurvy, d'Iberville decided to act. He ambushed a wood-cutting party, capturing twenty men, and then attacked the main fort. The post held out for several days, but when there were only eight “sound men” left, it surrendered.

Meanwhile, **James II** and **Louis XIV** had negotiated a “*Treaty of Peace, good Correspondence and Neutrality in America*” to settle the Anglo-French conflict on the Bay. It provided that each side would keep whatever it “now possessed.” France knew about the forts and England did not. In 1688 *James II was overthrown, England and France went to war and the treaty became moot*.

In June 1687, de Troyes commanding a company under de Denonville set out with a well-organized force to **Fort**, where they met with the *50 hereditary sachems of the Iroquois Confederacy at an Onondaga council fire*. These 50 chiefs constituted the entire decision-making strata of the Iroquois. They had been *lulled into meeting under a flag of truce*. Denonville seized, chained, and shipped those 50 Iroquois chiefs to Marseilles, France, to be used as *galley slaves*.

In 1687, Denonville launched *a well-organized campaign against the Seneca nation* - which occupied the *western gateway of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy) territory* (v.s.): (The Seneca had been dealing with the English, and the French wanted to keep control of the lucrative fur trade). The expedition left Montréal on 13 June 1687 and consisted of *832 colonial regulars, over 900 Canadienne militia and some 400 Indian allies*. They traveled by water in 200 bateaux and 200 canoes. The force landed at **Irondequoit Bay**, built a palisade to protect the boats, and on July 12<sup>th</sup> began the march to **Ganondagan**: (*This site is at the center of the story of the Peacemaker, who unified the five major peoples and created the Haudenosaunee confederacy*).<sup>71</sup> On July 13<sup>th</sup>, the French were attacked by a Seneca force of 800, but after a short engagement “they soon resolved to fly.” The French suffered 5 or 6 killed and 20 wounded, while the Seneca casualties were 45 killed and 60 wounded. Upon arrival at the village on the 14<sup>th</sup>, they found it burnt and a nearby fort abandoned. Vast quantities of hogs were killed, and 1.2 million bushels of stored and standing corn were destroyed. The force then turned west and destroyed the *village of Totiakton aka Tiotohatton or La*

<sup>71</sup> **Seneca oral tradition** tells of a *Huron man* who arrived among the Mohawk speaking of the **Gayanesshagowa (The Great Law of Peace)**. This prophet is known today as **The Great Peacemaker**. The *Mohawk, Oneida, and Cayuga* pledged to join his proposed confederation and, following a dramatic interlude, the Seneca agreed also.

The discussion about how to bring in the *Onondaga* took place in the **Ganondagan house of Jikonsase** (Jikonhsaseh), a *Seneca woman elder* now known as the “**Mother of Nations**.” She proposed a solution which *eventually* brought the Onondaga into the fold, for it gave them a prominent place in the confederacy. She lived in the vicinity of Ganondagan, and is buried nearby.

Because of this tradition, the Seneca refer to **Ganondagan** as the “**Town of Peace**.” They revere and protect the *burial site of Jikonsase*. The relation to their **Great Law of Peace** is more important than the attack that destroyed the village, for the people have carried forward their means of negotiating for solutions. *Concepts of the confederacy may have influenced early American political thinkers, although they gathered similar ideas from English and European thinkers.*



**Conception** (now in the town of Mendon) before subsequently returning to their boats at Irondequoit.

Before Denonville returned his forces to Nouveau France, he travelled down the shore of **Lake Ontario** and created **Fort Denonville**,<sup>72</sup> in his own honor, at the site where the Niagara River meets Lake Ontario - de Troyes was left in charge. But de Troyes' brilliant military career was cut short by his death the following year, during the winter of 1687-1688, along with most of the troops in his garrison, due to *scurvy*. Denonville then asked the King for more men to combat the Iroquois Confederacy, who were *in constant guerrilla warfare* with the *Canadienne* settlements. With a coalition forming against France, no more troops could be spared for Canada. In 1688, hostilities between England and France resumed - and the Iroquois were informed of this. Denonville proposed to assault New York by land and sea... but, due to sickness, requested to be recalled to France.

Denonville's tenure was followed by *the return of Frontenac*, who replaced him as governor for the next nine years (1689-1698). Frontenac had been arranging a new plan of attack to mitigate the effects of the Iroquois in North America and realized *the true danger the imprisonment of the sachems created*. He located the 13 surviving leaders (v.s. used as galley slaves), and they returned with him to Nouveau France in October 1698.

**Frontenac's second term** would be characterized by the defence of Québec from a British invasion during **King William's War** (v.s.) - *a guerrilla campaign against the Iroquois and English settlements* which resulted in the elimination of the Iroquois threat against Nouveau France, and a large expansion of the fur trade using *Canadienne coureurs des bois*. He died before his second recall to France.

In 1688, **Bishop Laval** passed on his responsibilities as to **Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevières de St-Vallier**<sup>73</sup> son of Jean de La Croix de Chevières de Saint-Vallier and Marie de Sayvé: His *personality* was noted for its *austerity*, his *strong will* and his *dynamism*. He was also a close friend of the **Bishop Le Camus of Grenoble**, and would regularly initiate visits to the hospitals, prisons and country parishes. At the court of the **Sun King**, he rejected the dress code and kept his religious attire.

St-Valier was *a supporter and defender of the Catholic Reform (Counter Reformation)* and its ideology to evangelize communities while ridding them of Protestantism. This strong counter ideology undoubtedly played a large role in his decisions, implementations and organizations within Nouveau France. His initial introduction to the New World was to engage in *the conversion of Natives*, which sought issues in prior years. However, *most of all, the introduction and placement of Jesuits and Récollets in an attempt to evangelize Nouveau France* strictly depicts his headstrong *belief of the importance of the Catholicization*. Many of these missions (Illinois, Louisiana, and Mississippi) resulted in *conflicts between Bishop St-Vallier, the Jesuits and the seminary of Québec*.

### PART THREE King William's War

- the first of the four French and Indian Wars -

The **Nine Years' War**, begun in 1688 in **Europe**, widened to include the Kingdom of England in 1689 as part of the alliance against France. England's **Catholic King James II** was deposed at the end of 1688 in the **Glorious Revolution**, after which **Protestants William III and Mary II** took the throne. William joined the **League of Augsburg** in its war against France (begun earlier in 1688), where James had fled. In the *aftermath of the Glorious Revolution*, authorities in Nouveau France capitalized on *turmoil in the English colonies* to launch raids with their Indian allies against targets on the already tense frontiers of New England and New York.

<sup>72</sup> This site was previously used by French explorer **Sieur de La Salle** for a fort named **Fort Conti** (from 1678 to 1679), and was later used for **Fort Niagara**, which still exists..

<sup>73</sup> The **La Croix family** was ranked among the best in Dauphiné with prestigious posts such as country noblemen, officers, magistrates and ambassadors; more-so, the La Croix's owned a large amount of lands including the *castle of St-Vallier in the Rhone*, which previously belonged to King Henry II's mistress, *Diane de Poitiers*.

The **La Croix children** were much influenced by religion; three out of ten took on a religious post. Jean-Baptiste himself entered the *seminary of St-Sulpice* in Paris and obtained his licentiate in theology in 1672 at 19 years of age. Later, in 1676, he was appointed *almoner in ordinary to King Louis XIV*, a promotion that can be attributed to his family's connections. He was ordained priest *only* in 1681, after *he funded a small hospital in St-Vallier* with his own money in 1683 and *created the Chapter in 1684*.

In **North America**, there was significant tension between Nouveau France and the *northern English colonies*, which had been united in 1686, in the **Dominion of New England**. The colony of *Nouveau France claimed the largest area of North America*, although *by population it was numerically inferior* to the neighbouring colonies of New England and New York. By 1689, there were only about 14,000 settlers in Nouveau France, but most of the population lived in towns protected by elaborate forts.

*New England and the Iroquois Confederacy* fought *Nouveau France and the Wabanaki Confederacy*. The Iroquois dominated the *economically important Great Lakes fur trade* and had been in conflict with Nouveau France since 1680. At the urging of New England, *the Iroquois interrupted the trade between Nouveau France and the western tribes*. In retaliation, *Nouveau France raided Seneca lands* of western New York.

On 19 April 1689, Nelson was one of *a number of prominent Bostonians* leading *a revolt against Governor Sir Edmund Andros* son of Amice Andros, *Bailiff of Guernsey and a staunch supporter of Charles I, and Elizabeth Stone, whose sister was a courtier to the king's sister, Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia*. Andros, the *hated governor of the Dominion of New England*, had angered many colonists by *vacating land titles, enforcing the Navigation Acts, and promoting the Church of England*. Despite these enmities, he managed to negotiate *a series of alliances and treaties of the Covenant Chain*<sup>74</sup> with the

<sup>74</sup> The **Covenant Chain** is embodied in the *Two Row Wampum Treaty* (1613) of the **Haudenosaunee** (the "Five Nations," comprising the *Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca* -joined later by the *Tuscarora* peoples) - being the *basis of all of their subsequent treaties* with European and North American governments, and the citizens of those nations. The *oral laws and customs* of the **Great Law of Peace** became *the constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy*, being established in the 15<sup>th</sup> century or earlier: The official title of the confederacy is "**Kayanerenh-kowa**" ("**Great Peace**"). It was *spiritually and culturally revered*, being widely accepted and documented by the *wampum belts and oral tradition* based in agreements negotiated between Dutch settlers in New Netherland (*present-day New York*) and the Five Nations of the Iroquois early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Note: The *democratic ideals of the Gayanashagowa* provided *a significant inspiration to the framers of the United States Constitution*, which was influenced by the living example of the Iroquois confederation, as were *notions of individual liberty and the separation of powers*. Native American symbols and imagery that were adopted by the nascent United States, including *the American bald eagle with its bundle of thirteen arrows*.

Because of the standing relationship with the Iroquois and the extensive influence of the Haudenosaunee, in August 1675, New York's Governor **Sir Edmund Andros** asked them for help in ending regional conflicts of the time in New England and the Chesapeake. He worked with the Onondaga leader **Daniel Karakontie**.

The term "**Covenant Chain**" was derived from the metaphor of *a silver chain holding the English sailing ship to the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Tree of Peace in the Onondaga Nation*. A three-link silver chain was made to symbolize their first agreement. The links represent "**Peace, Friendship and Respect**" between the Haudenosaunee and the Crown. It was also the first written treaty to use such phrases as:

...as long as the sun shines upon the earth;  
as long as the waters flow;  
as long as the grass grows green, peace will last.

The *united Iroquois nations* are symbolized by an "*eastern white pine tree*," called the "**Tree of Peace**" by a man named **Dekanawidah the Great Peace-Giver** - a *prophet* who was *miraculously born of a Huron virgin* and raised amongst the *Onondaga* and *later adopted by the Mohawk*. He *counseled peace among the warring tribes* and he called for an *end to ritual cannibalism*.

The tree had four symbolic roots, the **Great White Roots of Peace**, spreading north, east, south, and west. If any other nation ever wished to join the League, it would have to follow the White Roots of Peace to the source and take shelter beneath the tree. Atop the tree, he placed *an eagle* to scream out a warning at the approach of danger. He symbolically planted the tree in the land of the Onondagas, the place of the *Grre* (the confederate lords, or peace chiefs) which would sit in its shade as the *caretakers of the Great Peace*.

According to some legends, his first ally was **Jigonhsasee** - an Iroquoian woman lived along *the warriors' path* and known for her hospitality to warriors as they traveled to and from battlegrounds and their homes: At her *hearth*, warriors of the various factions could come in peace. While they ate her food, she acted as counsel and learned their hearts.

Dekanawidah came to her and described his *vision for a peace* to be built upon *a confederacy of the warring nations*. She said this sounded good but asked what form it would take. He replied,

"It will take the form of the longhouse in which there are many hearths, one for each family, yet all live as one household under one chief mother. They shall have one mind and live under one law. Thinking will replace killing, and there shall be one commonwealth."

The **Great Peacemaker** gave **Jigonhsasee** the task of assigning the men to different positions at the peace gathering, and to women in the future the power to choose the

Iroquois at *a time of violence and social instability* for the colonies and Native Americans; addressing *issues of colonial settlement*, a *long-lived peace* involving the colonies and other tribes that interacted with that confederacy was established by the *English and Iroquois councils* - subsequent treaties being based on *supporting peace and stability to preserve trade between the colonists and Indian tribes* (from *New England to the Colony of Virginia*). His actions and governance generally followed the instructions he was given upon appointment to office, and he received approbation from the monarchs and governments that appointed him.

The **Raid on Dover** (known as the **Cochecho Massacre**) happened on the night of 27–28 June 1689; led by **Chief Kancamagus** (“*the fearless one*”) nephew of *Wonalancet* and grandson of *Passaconaway*, third and final Sagamore of the **Penacook Confederacy**,<sup>75</sup> it began **King William’s War**, a *series of Indian massacres* orchestrated by Jean-Vincent d’Abbadie de St-Castin and Père Louis-Pierre Thury. At the time *local Pennacook women* were regularly allowed into the garrisoned homes of the Dover settlers when they requested shelter for the night. Two native women appeared at each of five garrison houses, asking permission to sleep by the fire... not uncommon in peaceful times. All but one house accepted. In the dark early hours of the

chiefs of the longhouse. He called her “**Mother of Nations**” for she *was the first ally of his peace movement*.

**Hiawatha**, a skilled and charismatic orator of the *Haudenosaunee Confederacy*, was a leader of the Onondaga and the Mohawk, and *chosen spokesman of the Great Peacemaker*, whom was impeding in evangelizing his prophecy not only by foreign affiliations... but by *a severe speech impediment*. Hiawatha helped him achieve his vision of bringing the tribes together in peace

The Great Peacemaker established *a council of clan and village chiefs* to govern the confederacy. In each tribe, which had *matrilineal kinship systems* of descent and property-holding, *power was shared between the sexes*. Men held the positions of *hereditary chiefs* through their mother’s line; *clan mothers* ruled on the fitness of chiefs and could depose of any that they opposed. Most decisions in council were made by consensus, to which each representative had an equal voice.

In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the *Tuscarora*, also an Iroquoian-speaking people, *migrated north from the Carolinas* and joined the Confederacy as the sixth nation – and the regional dominance achieved by the Iroquois is attributed to their superior organization and coordination compared to other tribes [ ] because of their need for furs for the European trade and their superior geographic position controlling most of central and western New York.

#### Prophecy of the boy seer

The **Great Peacemaker** worked all his life to bring his vision to fruition. He prophesied that a “*white serpent*” would come to his people’s lands and make friends with them, only to deceive them later. A “*red serpent*” would *later* make war against the “white serpent,” but an *Indian boy* would be *given a great power*. He would be accepted as a chosen leader by the people of “the land of the hilly country.” The boy, *though*, would remain neutral in the fight, and speak to *the people, who numbered as the blades of grass*, but he is heard by all. After a season, a “*black serpent*” would come and defeat both the “white and red serpents.” According to the prophecy, when the people gathered under the elm tree become humble, all three “serpents” would be blinded by a light many times brighter than the sun. Dekanawidah said that he would be that light. His nation would accept the “white serpent” into their safekeeping like a long-lost brother

*The Covenant Chain continued until 1753, when the Mohawk, claiming to have been cheated out of lands rightfully theirs in New York, declared that the chain was broken.*

<sup>75</sup> An *Algonquian-speaking tribe*, they were more closely *related to the Abenaki tribes* to the west, north, and east, such as the *Penobscot* and *Piguaket* or *Pawtucket*, than to other Algonquian tribes to the south, *such as the Massachusett or Wampanoag*.

*One of the first tribes to encounter European colonists*, the Pennacook were *decimated by infectious diseases* carried by the newcomers. Suffering high mortality, they were in a weakened state and subject to *raids by Mohawk of the Iroquois Confederacy* from the west, and *Micmac* tribes from the north, who *also* took a toll of lives. The powerful sham, **sachem Passaconaway** (“*Child of the Bear*”) had a military advantage over the New England colonists, but he decided to make *peace* with them rather than lose more of his people’s lives through warfare. They were caught up in *King Philip’s War*, however, and lost more members. Although *Wonalancet*, the chief who succeeded Passaconaway, tried to maintain neutrality in the war, bands in western Massachusetts did not.

The Pennacook *fled north with their former enemies, or west with other tribes*, where the *English colonists hunted them down and killed them*. Those that survived, joined other scattered tribes-people at *Schaghticoke* (present-day New York). Those who fled northward *eventually* merged with other displaced New England tribes and Abenaki. Although no longer a distinct tribe, many bands of **Abenaki** (called **Abenaki** or **Oubenaqui** by the French) in New Hampshire, Vermont and Canada, are descended from such Pennacook ancestors.

The Pennacook women cultivated varieties of maize, corn, and squash along fertile river beds, processing them for food and seeds for the next seasons. The men hunted in the wooded, less fertile areas.

morning, the women unfastened the doors, allowing braves who had concealed themselves to enter. The sword-wielding elderly Waldron was cut across his belly with knives [ ] and five-or-six dwelling houses were burned, along with the mills. In one bloody revenge attack by native warriors, a full quarter of the entire population was gone - fifty-two colonists in all- 23 killed, 29 captured. *Captives included Waldron’s seven-year-old grandchild Sarah Gerrish daughter of Elizabeth and John Gerrish. These were the first recorded British captives that natives abducted and sold in Québec.*

During the **Northwest Coast Campaign**, the *area of Pemaquid* became *a battleground as the French and English* fought to determine the boundaries of their empires. *British regulars* were not accustomed to *frontier warfare* and so *Ranger companies were developed*. Rangers were *full-time soldiers employed by colonial governments* to patrol between fixed frontier fortifications in reconnaissance providing early warning of raids. In offensive operations, they were *scouts* and *guides*, locating villages and other targets for taskforces drawn from the militia or other colonial troops.

English colonial militia leader **Benjamin Church** successfully defended a group of English settlers at Falmouth, Maine. Church designed his force - historic predecessor of the United States Army Rangers - primarily to emulate Native American patterns of war. Toward this end, Church endeavored to learn *to fight like Native Americans exclusively under the tutelage of the Indian allies*. Toward this end, he worked to adopt *Indian techniques of small, flexible forces* that used the woods and ground for cover, rather than mounting frontal attacks in military formation. Church developed a special full-time unit mixing *White colonists selected for frontier skills* with friendly Native Americans to carry out offensive strikes against hostile Indians in terrain where normal militia units were ineffective.

In 1689 **Baron de St-Castin and the Wabanaki Confederacy** (**Abenaki**) captured and burned down **Fort Charles** (v.s. Fort William Henry) - the wooden stockade fort at Pemaquid - *in its time the largest fort in New England*. They *killed 200 British at the fort and in the surrounding area, capturing colonists and burning many farms*, blunting the tide of English expansion. The Acadians at Chignecto posted *a proclamation heralding the success of French arms* on their church door.

In response to the defeat, the month following **Colonel Benjamin Church** led *a devastating raid on the Isthmus of Chignecto*<sup>76</sup> at *Beaubassin*<sup>77</sup> - an important Acadian village and trading centre.

New England supported the Iroquois in attacking Nouveau France, which they did by raiding Lachine, seeking revenge for Governor General Denonville’s actions. The **Lachine massacre** occurred on the morning of 5 August 1689, when 1500 Mohawk warriors attacked the 375 inhabitants of Lachine, *at the upper end of Île de Montréal*. In their attack, the Mohawk destroyed a substantial portion of the Lachine settlement by fire, *burning it to the ground*, killing and/or taking numerous inhabitants captive: Iroquois warriors had been

<sup>76</sup> The **Isthmus of Chignecto** is an isthmus bordering the *Maritime Provinces* of **New Brunswick** and **Nova Scotia** which connects the Nova Scotia peninsula with North America.

<sup>77</sup> **Beaubassin** was established in the 1670s on uplands close to an extensive area of saltwater marsh. Settlers reclaimed the land to engage in cattle ranching and trade. **Jacques Bourgeois**, a farmer, shipbuilder, and merchant at Port Royal sold a part of his holdings there and built a flour-mill and a saw-mill on the **Chignecto Basin** - *a basin between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia of southeastern Canada - a sub-basin of the Fundy Basin*. Around the same time **Michel Leneuf de la Vallière de Beaubassin**, who became governor of Acadia, set up *a fur-trading post* on the isthmus, while devoting part of his time to the fishing, farming, settlement, and soldiering: (The **Le Neuf family**, first nobles to settle in Nouveau France, came from Caen, France and settled in **Trois-Rivières**, where they held positions of power and prestige through several generations). Following success in the latter activity, in 1676 governor **Frontenac** granted him 100 square leagues land which became the **Beaubassin seigneurie**. He established himself on an upland known as **Île de la Vallière**, later *Tonge’s Island*.

The settlement prospered on the fertile **Tantramar Marshes** - *a tidal saltmarsh around the Bay of Fundy* - and surrounding high ground, which was suitable for farming. The isthmus was *also the site of a portage between the Bay of Fundy and the Northumberland Strait* - *in the southern part of the Gulf of St-Lawrence, formed by Prince Edward Island and the gulfs’ eastern, southern and western shores, which lay at the heart of a vast trading network encompassing Île Royale, Nova Scotia and New England*.

The grasslands around the settlement were sufficient to fatten thousands of head of cattle. The first fruit trees were brought from Port Royal by an Irishman, **Roger Kuessey** (**Caissy** or **Quessey**), who established himself on a highland now known as the **Butte à Roger**. In 1686, Beaubassin was made a parish when **Abbé Claude Trouvé** built a church.

harassing Montréal defenses for many months prior. The surprise attack, precipitated by *growing Iroquois dissatisfaction with increased French incursions into their territory*, was encouraged by *settlers of New England* as a way to leverage power against Nouveau France during **King William's War - of the Nine Years' War (1688–97), also known as the War of the Grand Alliance or the War of the League of Augsburg**. It was the first of six colonial wars fought between Nouveau France and New England along with their respective Native allies before France ceded its remaining mainland territories in North America east of the Mississippi River in 1763.

The Campaign of 1676 led the English to surrender the fort and abandon the Pemaquid area, retreating to Salem. **Church** led a force of 400 men (50-to-150 of which were Indians, likely Iroquois) against the Acadians and Mi'kmaq to avenge the destruction of the fort, which he *himself* assisted in erecting. When they came ashore, having surprised the Acadians, *the Acadians and Mi'kmaq opened fire* on them: Church lost a lieutenant and several of his men. Nevertheless, they managed to get ashore and many fled... yet *one confronted Church with papers showing they had signed an oath of allegiance* in 1690 to the English king. Church was unconvinced, *especially after he discovered the proclamation heralding the French success at Pemaquid posted on the church door*. He burned a number of buildings, killed inhabitants, looted their household goods, and slaughtered their livestock. Governor **Joseph Robineau (ou Robinau) de Villebon**<sup>78</sup> reported that "the English stayed at Beaubassin nine whole days without drawing any supplies from their vessels, and even those settlers to whom they had shown pretence of mercy were left with empty houses and barns and nothing else except the clothes on their backs."

On September 29<sup>th</sup>, Church and his men proceeded to *the mouth of the St. John River*. Church captured two Frenchmen *here* and learned from them of cannons buried nearby; these he unearthed and then proceeded towards Boston. At *Passamaquoddy*, Church's force was met by **Colonel John Hathorn** who took command of the entire force and proceeded to the St. John River. They moved up the river to lay siege to the capital of Acadia **Fort Nashwaak (St-Joseph)**.<sup>79</sup>

The siege lasted two days, between October 18<sup>th</sup>-and-20<sup>th</sup>.

First informed on October 1<sup>st</sup> by *Sieur Chevalier that an English brig had entered the harbour at St. John*, Villebon sent *Sieur Neuville*, on October 5<sup>th</sup> with seven men, to reconnoiter the lower confines of the river and to carry supplies to *Sieur Chevalier*. On October 9<sup>th</sup>, *Neuville* sent word back to Fort Nashwaak that *six English vessels had entered the harbour at St. John and landed two hundred English and Indian troops* after successfully attacking *Sieur Chevalier*. On October 12<sup>th</sup>, *Neuville* fell back to Fort Nashwaak and, on the way, picked up seven-or-eight French soldiers rescued by the Indians at **Fort Nerepis** (later known as **Fort Boishebert**) which was under attack by the English forces. The English continued their cautious approach and, on October 16<sup>th</sup>, were spotted by *Sieur Neuville* a short distance below *Jemseg*.

Governor Villebon having been alerted had prepared his defenses. Several days earlier, on October 11<sup>th</sup>, Villebon, made a request to **Récollet Père Simon-Gérard de La Place** to gather Maliseet militia from Meductic and defend the fort from an attack. *Père La Place* was a "very conscientious man, an honest gentleman of a humane, generous disposition who only concerned himself with the affairs of his mission." On October 16<sup>th</sup>, *Père Simon* and Acadian

<sup>78</sup> **De Villebon**, who was born in Nouveau France had received much of his education and military experience in France. His importance in history occurred after his return to Nouveau France in about 1681 and his deployment to Acadia in about 1685 to assist **Governor François-Marie Perrot** and, subsequently, **Governor Louis-Alexandre des Friches de Menneval**. It is known de Villebon was in France whence **William Phips** captured Port Royal in the spring of 1690, taking prisoners, including de Menneval, to Boston.

Robineau re-established French rule in Acadia and was made governor there, a position he held until his death. He built the capital at **Fort Nashwaak** and was able to maintain the *New England-Acadia boundary in present-day Maine* because of his military talents and his skill in dealing with the *Wabanaki Confederacy*. He was involved in the *Raid on Oyster River*; but his most significant success was the *Siege of Pemaquid* (1696).

He benefited greatly from the support of Frontenac in his endeavours.

<sup>79</sup> **Fort Nashwaak** was a *four-sided log palisade* erected by Governor Villebon in 1691-92, whom hadst decided to relocate the capital from **Fort Jemseg** as he felt a setting further upriver would be safer from attack. Called by Villebon **Fort St-Joseph**, it was located at the mouth of the Nashwaak River, on the north bank at its junction with the St. John River (near present day *Barker's Point, New Brunswick*) - being *the first European settlement in the Fredericton area*. The site offered the *additional strategic benefits* to Villebon of being *situated near the Maliseet capital of Meductic* and of being *on a traditional portage route*.

**Sieur de Clignancourt** led 30-to-36 Maliseet militia members to defend Fort Nashwaak. In further preparation, Villebon cleared his field of fire by dismantling a house, hid surplus powder in hidden caches, and assigned his men to their positions.

On October 18<sup>th</sup> the English troops arrived opposite the fort, landed three cannons (two being used with some effect with the third unable to function effectively as it had been positioned too close, taking heavy musket fire from Villebon's forces) and assembled earthworks on the south bank of the Nashwaak River. French privateer **Pierre Maisonnat dit Baptiste** was there to defend the capital, having arrived at the Fort the day before (on October 17<sup>th</sup>) with ten St. John River Acadian settlers. Baptiste joined the Maliseet from Meductic for the duration of the siege. There was *a fierce exchange of cannon fire for two days*, with the advantage going to the better sited French guns. In addition to the opposing cannonades, **Clignancourt** and Baptiste with the Mi'kmaq allies confronted a force of English allied Indians advancing along the Nashwaak River.

The siege failed.

Massachusetts responded to the *Siege of Pemaquid* (1689) by sending out 600 men to the border region. Led by **Major Jeremiah Swaine** of Reading, the soldiers met on 28 August 1689, and then scoured the region. Despite Swaine's presence, *the natives attacked Oyster River* and killed 21 people, taking several others captive.

On 16 October 1689, the *Battle of the Lake of Two Mountains (Bataille du Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes)* between the colony of Nouveau France and the Iroquois Confederacy occurred in response to the Lachine massacre of August 1689. The **Marquis de Denonville** dispatched *a scouting party of 28 coureurs des bois*, under the command of **Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut** - *the first European known to have visited the area of the headwaters of the Mississippi River* - and **Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manthet**, to search for Iroquois warriors that posed a threat to residents on the Île de Montréal. The coureurs des bois came across a group of 22 Iroquois at the Lake of Two Mountains - *part of the river delta widening of the Ottawa River at its confluence with the St-Lawrence River in Québec*. The French suffered no casualties, while the Iroquois suffered 18 deaths, 3 captured, and 1 fled. The French victory restored the confidence of the local French inhabitants.

*D'Iberville* continued on to the *English colony of Newfoundland* and raided many villages in the **Avalon Peninsula Campaign**. **Major Church** retaliated for the siege by going to Acadia and engaging in the *Raid on Chignecto* (v.i.). *The retaliatory raid lasted nine days (20–29 September 1696)*. Church burned a number of buildings, killed inhabitants, looted their household goods, and slaughtered their livestock. *(The Campaign is most notable for Richard Waldron entering the war, the death of Chief Mogg and the attack on the Mi'kmaq that initiated their involvement in the war. Chubb was tracked down by the natives two years later in his home in Andover and was massacred along with his family.)*

In total, Church led *four New England raiding parties* into Acadia (which included most of Maine) against the ethnic French Acadians and "hostile savages," including the Abenaki. On the first expedition into Acadia, on 21 September 1689, Major Church (who was promoted to major and given command of the expedition by the **Council of War of Plymouth Colony** on September 6<sup>th</sup>) and 250 troops defended a group of English settlers in the *Battle of Deering Oaks* (also known as the *Battle of Brackett's Woods*) against Canadiennes, and tribes of the Wabanaki Confederacy. Although 21 of his men were killed, Church was successful and the enemy retreated.

On September 29<sup>th</sup>, Church and his men proceeded to the mouth of the *St. John River*, where *two Frenchmen were captured* and, learning from them of *cannons buried nearby*, he unearthed these and thence proceeded towards Boston. At *Passamaquoddy*, Church's force was met by **Colonel John Hathorn** who took command and proceeded up the St. John River to lay siege to **Fort St-Joseph (Nashwaak)** (present-day *Fredericton, New Brunswick*) - the capital of Acadia: (It was located strategically upriver on the north side of the St. John River at the mouth of the Nashwaak River, close to the native village Fort Meductic for military purposes: From Fort Nashwaak, they executed numerous raids on the New England border with Acadia, aided by their Abenaki and other First Nations allies). The siege failed.

*Church threatened the Chignecto Acadians before leaving that he would return if more New Englanders suffered. He did return to raid Chignecto again during Queen Anne's War in a campaign against Acadia that also included the Raid on Grand Pre*. Church thence returned to Boston, leaving the small group of English settlers unprotected.

## Sir William Phips & the Boston Puritans

The idea for *an expedition against Acadia* first arose in the wake of the August 1689 fall of Fort William Henry to French and Indian forces. On December 1689 *Massachusetts authorized an essentially volunteer expedition* against Acadia, and established committees to organize it, but the urgency to deal with it brought more public support after the raids in early 1690. Several prominent colonists were considered to lead it. One of the expedition's major proponents, merchant *John Nelson son of Robert and Mary Nelson and a nephew of Sir Thomas Temple, 1st Baronet - a British proprietor and governor of Nova Scotia*, a resident of Long Island in Boston Harbor, was rejected because of his previous trade dealings with the French in Acadia.

The command was finally given to *Sir William Phips*<sup>80</sup> *son of James and Mary Phips*, a Maine native with no military experience who achieved prominence by finding a wrecked treasure ship in the West Indies: Phips had survived a raid by tribes of the Wabanaki Confederacy from Acadia when they destroyed his hometown near Portland, Maine during the *First Abenaki War* (1676). On March 24<sup>th</sup> Phips was commissioned a major general and given command of the expedition.

On 27 March 1690 *Joseph-François Hertel de la Fresnière*, who had participated in numerous expeditions against the Iroquois and was notorious in the English colonies because of his exploits, and his son *Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville* (active in the French Marines in Canada from an early age), along with Norridgewock *Abenaki chief Wahowa*, and possibly Maliseet *Abenaki war chief Assacumbuit*, led troops *as well as the Wabanaki Confederacy* (Mi'kmaq and Maliseet from Fort Meductic) *in New Brunswick*, intent on targeting the home of *Edward Tyng father of Edward Tyng, commander at Fort Loyal and Fort William Henry* but changed plans and went on, *instead, to capture the English settlement of Salmon Falls* (present-day Berwick, Maine). The village was destroyed, thirty-four men killed and fifty-four persons were carried away captive, mostly women and children, for transport back to Canada. They plundered and burnt the houses and mills. Although militia mustered from Portsmouth and gave chase, they were driven off in a skirmish later that day.

*Joseph-François Hertel de la Fresnière and Baron de St Castin - he became the third Baron de St-Castin on the death of his elder brother - led troops as well as the Wabanaki Confederacy* on to capture and destroy *Fort Loyal* and the English settlement on the Falmouth neck (*site of present-day Portland, Maine*), *then part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*. The commander of the fort was *Captain Sylvanus Davis*. Grossly outnumbered, the settlers held out [*for two days*] before surrendering. The community's buildings were burned, including the wooden stockade fort, and, *eventually, two hundred were murdered and left in a large heap - those who weren't killed were taken prisoner*.

A force under command of *Shadrach Walton* came from New Hampshire on *a search and destroy mission* against hostiles along the coast of Maine, and managed to kill a small number of Natives... but had come too late to save the people from the massacre. *James Alexander*, a Jersey man, was taken captive along with 100 other prisoners. Two families of *Mi'kmaq people who had lost friends* by some English fishermen, *traveled many miles to avenge themselves on the captives*. They were reported to have yelled and danced around their victims; tossed and threw them; held them by the hair and beat them - sometimes with an axe - and did this all day, compelling them also to dance and sing, until at night they were thrown out exhausted. Alexander, after a second torture, ran to the woods, but hunger drove him back to his tormentors. His fate is unknown.

The *fall of Fort Loyal* (Casco) led to *the near depopulation of Europeans in Maine*. Native forces were then able to attack the New Hampshire frontier without reprisal. The following spring, May 1690, *over 400 French and native troops under the leadership of Castin* returned to Falmouth and *massacred all the English settlers in the Battle of Fort Loyal*. When Church returned to the village later that summer, he buried the dead.

On 28 April 1690 *Phips* sailed from Boston with *a fleet of five ships* carrying 446 provincial militiamen. His flagship, the *Six Friends*, mounted 42 guns, while the *Porcupine* mounted 16. They were accompanied by the sloop *Mary* and two ketches. At *Mount Desert Island* they made a rendezvous with

the barque *Union* and another ketch. After investigating French holdings in Penobscot Bay and Passamaquoddy Bay, Phips sailed for *Port Royal*, arriving near Port Royal on May 9<sup>th</sup>. Before approaching the town, he made contact with *Pierre Melanson dit Laverdure*, a bilingual French Huguenot, early the next morning, and ascertained the condition of the town. He then weighed anchor and sailed up to the town.

The French garrison consisted of *fewer than 90 soldiers*, and the *fortifications were in a state of destruction*. A military engineer hadst previously arrived in October 1689 and had begun razing the fort in order to build a new one, over the objections of Governor de Menneval... and *none of its cannons were mounted*. Furthermore, *the garrison only possessed 19 muskets*.

When Phips sent an emissary on May 10<sup>th</sup> to demand the fort's surrender, Menneval sent the local priest, *Louis Petit*, to negotiate *terms of surrender*. The basic terms he and Phips agreed included *protection of the persons and personal property of the Acadians*, and *preservation of their right to Catholic worship*. Phips refused to put the terms in writing ("*a convenience that could be disposed of once the surrender had been given*"), but they were reconfirmed by multiple witnesses when Governor Menneval came to the *Six Friends* the next day.

After *the British sacked Pentagouet*, the Wabanaki Confederacy retaliated with raids along the New England border. These attacks were coordinated from Fort Meductic in Acadia. The *merchants of Salem and Boston* got up a subscription, and in the spring of 1690 the *government of Massachusetts* organized a campaign led by Sir William Phips against the Acadian settlements. On 19 May 1690, a large force of New England provincial militia under *Phips* arrived before *Port Royal*. The Governor of Acadia *Louis-Alexandre des Friches de Menneval* had only 70 soldiers; the unfinished *enceinte* remained open and in disrepair - its 18 cannon had not been brought into firing positions; moreover, 42 young men of Port-Royal were absent. Any resistance *therefore* appeared useless and, on May 21<sup>st</sup>, Menneval promptly negotiated terms of capitulation. When Phips came ashore the next day, it was discovered that *Acadians had been removing valuables* (which would normally go to the victor as spoils of war), including some that were government property (and thus were supposed to come under the victor's control).

Phips claimed this was *a violation of the terms of capitulation*, and, *consequently*, on May 22<sup>nd</sup> declared the agreement void. He allowed his troops to *sack the town and destroy the church* - cutting down the cross, pulling down the high-altar, and breaking all their images - acts *that* he had promised to prevent in the *oral surrender agreement*. He had the fortifications destroyed, removing all of their weaponry. Before he left, he convinced a number of Acadians to swear *oaths of allegiance to William III and Mary II of England*, *organized a provisional government* by personally selecting French Acadian leaders to form *a council of locals* to administer the town, and then sailed back to Boston, carrying Menneval and his garrison as *prisoners of war*. Phips received a hero's welcome and was lavished with praise, although he was criticized in some circles (and has been vilified in French and Acadian histories) for allowing the sacking of Port Royal.

Menneval and Petit, when they reported the events, claimed *that* Phips, unhappy with the condition of the fort and the size of the garrison that had surrendered, used the action of the French soldiers as *an excuse to terminate the agreement*. However, the fact that Phips had met with Laverdure prior to approaching Port Royal, and had a *presumably* reliable assessment of the conditions in the town, renders this explanation unlikely.

The *aftermath of the surrender of Port Royal* was unlike any of the previous military campaigns against Acadia. The *violence of the plunder alienated many of the Acadians* from the New Englanders, broke their trust, and made future relations with their English-speaking neighbors more difficult. Menneval was replaced by *Governor Joseph Robineau de Villebon*, one of Menneval's assistants, who returned to Port Royal from France in June and moved the capital of Acadia to *Fort Nashwaak* on the St. John River for defensive purposes, and to better coordinate military attacks on New England with the Abenaki at Meductic Indian Village / Fort Meductic.

Port Royal was thence subjected to *a pirate raid* not long after the Phips expedition left. The pirates captured the ship that delivered Villebon, destroyed homes and cattle, and *allegedly* killed some of the inhabitants.

Following the capture of Port Royal, the New Englanders hoped to seize Québec itself, *the capital of Nouveau France*. The loss of the Acadian fort shocked the Canadiennes, and Frontenac ordered the immediate preparation of the city for siege.

<sup>80</sup> *Phips* was born in a frontier settlement at *Nequasset* (present-day Woolwich, Maine), *near the mouth of the Kennebec River*. His father died when the boy was six years old, and his mother married a neighbor and business partner, *John White*. Although *Cotton Mather* in his biography of Phips claimed *that* he was one of 26 children - this number is likely an exaggeration or includes many who did not survive infancy.



The **Battle of Chedabucto** occurred on 3 June 1690 as part of Phips' military campaign against Acadia. Phips sent **Captain Cyprian Southack** to Chedabucto with 80 men to destroy **Fort St-Louis** and the surrounding French fishery. De Menneval was stationed at the fort with 12 soldiers who, unlike those at Port Royal, put up a fight before surrendering. They tried to defend the fort for over six hours, until **fire bombs** burned the fort to the ground. Southack destroyed the enormous amount of 50,000 crowns of fish. The garrison capitulated on honorable terms and was sent to Plaisance, the French capital of Newfoundland. Phips also dispatched **Capt. John Alden (sailor) son of Capt. John Alden Sr. and Priscilla Mullins, who settled in Plymouth Colony in 1620, arriving on the Pilgrim ship Mayflower** who raided **Cape Sable (present-day south-west Nova Scotia)** as well as the villages around the **Bay of Fundy**, particularly **Grand Pre** and **Chignecto**. He was a well-known public figure in his time but is now chiefly remembered as a survivor of the Salem witch trials.

On 2 July 1690, **Lieutenant de Colombet** led twenty-five men to attack a party of about one hundred Iroquois near **Rivière des Prairies - at the end of the island near the "coulee" of Jean Grou**. He and nine others were killed including the **Sieur Joseph de Montenon de Larue, Guillaume Richard dit Lafleur - a lieutenant of Militia**, and the **surgeon Jalot** were captured and burned alive the same day behind the fort of LaChenaye by the Iroquois. The owner of this land, **Jean Grou** and three of his companions: **Jean Delpue dit Parisot, Joseph Carrier dit Larose, and Jean Raynau dit Planchar** were burned by the Oneidas (one of the Iroquois nations).

Calm and easy-going in the presence of **Père Millet, Jean Baudoin fils, Pierre Masta, and Pierre Payet dit St-Amours - an employee of Le Grand Bauchant** were taken in the attack and held prisoner. **Père Millet was given to the Oneidas** who let him live during the month of February 1691. **St-Amours returned to the fort in 1693. Since the Iroquois were greatly feared, the bodies of those who had been killed were quickly buried at the same place that the massacre had occurred; it was not until 2 Nov 1694 that their bones were transported to the cemetery, where they were buried in the presence of all the settlers.**

Phips returned to Boston... and the **Massachusetts provisional government** organized a **large scale expedition against Québec - the capital of Nouveau France**, and gave its command to **Sir William Phips**. Originally intending to coordinate with a **simultaneous overland attack on Montréal** launched from Albany, New York, the expedition's departure was delayed in the vain hope that much needed munitions would arrive from England. The expedition, counting 34 ships (only four of which were of any size) and over 2300 Massachusetts militiamen, finally set out from **Hull**<sup>81</sup> on August 20<sup>th</sup>. It was a disastrous failure. The expedition was **short on ammunition**, had **no pilots familiar with the St-Lawrence River**, and had **inadequate provisions**.

**Frontenac**, a shrewd and experienced officer, reached Québec from Montréal on October 14<sup>th</sup>. When all the militia whom he had summoned arrived, **he had nearly 3000 men to defend the place**. The New Englanders had been "quite confident that the cowardly and effete French would be no match for their hardy men," but in fact the opposite was the case. Frontenac had reason for confidence, as he possessed a **force of three battalions of colonial regulars** that were certainly superior to Phips' amateur companies—in the event the regulars were not needed as the Canadian militia succeeded in repulsing Phips' landing parties. Furthermore, the city was "sited on the strongest natural position they [the English officers] had likely ever seen." Not only did it have impressive cliffs and **Cape Diamond**,<sup>82</sup> but the eastern shore was so shallow that ships could not approach and landing craft would be needed.

Because of bad weather, **contrary winds** and **difficulty in navigating the St-Lawrence**, the expedition took **eight weeks to reach Québec**. Phips did not anchor in the Québec basin until October 16<sup>th</sup>. The late arrival (wintry conditions were already setting in on the river) and the long voyage meant that **it would be impossible to conduct a lengthy siege**. Phips sent **Major Thomas Savage** into the citadel as an envoy to deliver a **summons of surrender**.

**An application of psychological warfare:** Before the fighting **Frontenac led Phips' envoy blindfolded through roaring mobs in the streets of**

Québec in order to mask his numerical inferiority. Then, in the **Château St-Louis**, Frontenac and many of his officers in their best dress listened to the envoy as he demanded the city's surrender. Overawed by this "stately Hall full of Brave Martiall men," Savage did his best to deliver Phips' ultimatum – this having been **drafted by Massachusetts Puritans**, the document began severely...:

"The warrs between the two crownes of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant; But the destruction made by ye french, and Indians, under your command and Encouragement upon the persons and Estates of their Majesties subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition for their own Security and satisfaction."

The New Englander told them they had **one hour to comply**, and then pulled out his watch. The proud and temperamental Frontenac was so enraged that **he wanted to have the envoy hanged before the full view of the English fleet**, and it was only because of the **Bishop François de Laval of Québec**, that he was calmed. Asked for a written response, Frontenac shot back:

"Non, je n'ai point de réponse à faire à votre général que par la bouche de mes canons et de mes mousquets"

("I have no reply to make to your general other than from the mouths of my cannons and muskets.")

Savage accepted his blindfold with relief and was led back to his ship. Phips' council of war was extremely vexed by the reply, having expected to fall upon a defenseless and panicked city. That **evening drums and fifes were heard approaching Québec**, followed by heavy cheering from the town: **Louis-Hector de Callières**<sup>83</sup> son of Jacques de Callières, governor of Cherbourg<sup>84</sup> had arrived with the remaining Montreal militia, giving Frontenac a numerical advantage over the New Englanders.

Phips then held a **war council**, which decided to make a **combined land assault and naval bombardment**. Both failed. The New Englanders saw that the only possible place to crack the defenses was on the city's northeastern side, where the walls were weakest. Their plan was to land their main force on the **Beauport shore east of the St-Charles River**, and have it cross the river in the fleet's boats, along with the field guns. **Major John Walley**, Phips' second-in-command, led the invading landing force of 1200 men, which landed at Beauport; however they were unable to cross **the well-defended St-Charles River**.

Frontenac had expected the land attack to come from Beauport, and the banks of the river had already been built up with field fortifications on the southwestern side. He proposed to fight only a skirmishing action there, holding his regulars in reserve for a European-style battle on the open ground west of Québec. The English landed on October 18<sup>th</sup>, and once on the shore, in the wooded areas east of the river, they were immediately **harassed by a strong detachment of Canadienne militia** along with some Indians under **Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène** until their retreat.

The **New Englanders' naval bombardment failed** because their ships' boats had mistakenly landed the field guns on the wrong side of the St-Charles... meanwhile, Phips' four large ships, quite contrary to the plan, anchored before Québec and began bombarding the city until October 19<sup>th</sup>; but their **guns were unable to reach the high battlements of the city; furthermore, they quickly ran out of ammunition**. Moreover, the **expedition's ships were nearly destroyed by cannon volleys** from the top of the city.

The French shore batteries had **also** proved to be much more than a match, and the English ships were pounded until the rigging and hulls were badly damaged; the ensign of Phips' flagship the **Six Friends** was cut down and fell into the river, and under a hail of musket shots, a daring group of Canadiennes paddled a canoe up to the ships to capture it. They triumphantly brought the ensign back to the Governor unscathed.

<sup>83</sup> In 1689 **Callières** proposed to Louis XIV to invade New England by land and sea, and obtained the reappointment of Frontenac as governor. In 1690 he marched to the defense of Québec, when it was besieged by Phipps. A valiant and experienced soldier, he aided Frontenac in saving Nouveau France from the Iroquois and in raising the prestige of the French flag. He was one of the first to receive the **Cross of St-Louis** (1694). Having succeeded Frontenac in 1698, he devoted all his skill and energy to the pacification of the Indians. The **treaty of Montréal** (1701), agreed to by representatives of all the tribes, was the crowning result of all his efforts. This treaty is considered as Callières' chief title to fame. That same year he sent **Antoine Laumet de La Mothe, sieur de Cadillac** to found Detroit. One of the most conspicuous figures in Canadian history, he left a reputation of disinterestedness, honour, and probity.

<sup>84</sup> **Cherbourg-Octeville** is a city and former commune situated at the northern end of the Cotentin peninsula in the northwestern French department of Manche.

<sup>81</sup> The Massachuset tribe called the area **Nantasket**, meaning "at the strait" or "low-tide place." It is a series of islands connected by sandbars forming **Nantasket Peninsula**, on which the Plymouth Colony established a trading post in 1621 for trade with the **Wampanoags**. The town was first settled in 1622 and officially incorporated in 1644, when it was named for **Kingston upon Hull, England**.

<sup>82</sup> **Cap Diamant** is the name of a cape on a edge of the Promontory of Québec and on which Québec City is located, formed by the confluence of a bend in the St-Lawrence River to the south and east, and the much smaller St-Charles River to the north.

During the bombardment, *the land force under Walley* remained inactive, *suffering from cold and complaining of shortage of rum*. After a couple of miserable days, they decided to carry the shore positions and try to overcome the French earthworks. They set out on October 20<sup>th</sup> “in the best European tradition, with drums beating and colors unfurled,” but there was a skirmish at the edge of the woods. The New Englanders could not cope with the maintained heavy *Canadienne* fire, and the brass field guns fired into the woods having no effect. Although *Ste-Hélène was mortally wounded*, 150 of the attackers had been killed in action, and were utterly discouraged. They made a retreat in a state of near panic on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, even abandoning five field guns on the shore. The fighting, *according to Phips*, cost the expedition 30 deaths and one field cannon, *as well as numerous wounded; disease* and disaster took an additional toll. *Smallpox ravaged the troops*, and two transports were lost to accidents; another 200 men were lost to these causes.

Both sides learned from the battle: the French improved the city’s defenses, while the New Englanders realized they needed more artillery and better support from England to take the city. On October 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, *an exchange of prisoners was negotiated* and the ships set sail for Boston. Although Phips’ own account of the expedition admitted only 30 dead in combat, *smallpox* and *marine accident* claimed about 1000 more.. One brigantine was wrecked on *Anticosti* - her crew maintained themselves on the island through the winter, *apparently* being rescued the following summer by a ship from Boston.

Phips’ defeat was complete and disastrous; fortunately for the French, since *food was lacking* to feed the large force assembled to defend Québec in case of a prolonged siege. Phips himself had displayed no natural military talents to offset his lack of experience. It can be argued, *however*, that the absence of trained soldiers and adequate supplies had doomed the enterprise from the start. The expedition cost the colony £50,000 to mount, for which it issued *paper bonds* set against the expected booty to be taken from the city - a first in the English colonies. Many of the expedition’s participants and creditors were unhappy at being paid this way, and Phips generously purchased some of the *depreciated paper* with hard currency, incurring *financial losses* in the process. At this same time, Governor Menneval petitioned for the return of minor valuables (silverware and other small items) that Phips had taken. Phips was outraged when the *General Council* heard Menneval’s case. *Phips returned to England in February 1691 to seek support for another expedition against Québec*.

*Jacques Le Moyne*, who died soon after the battle, was mourned by the whole colony for his courtesy and valour. The Onondaga Iroquois sent *a wampum collar* as a token of sympathy, and released two captives to honour his memory. His brother, *Charles Le Moyne*, won fame for his part in the battle, and he *later* received an additional grant of land for his services and became the first Baron de Longueuil.

More-so, the expedition marked the climax of *a period of steadily worsening relations between New Englanders and the French imperial authorities*, and reconfigured relations between New England and Acadia. Trade was affected, since those who wanted profitable trade with the Mi’kmaq and Acadians, led by John Nelson, failed...

*The following year, after the English lost a naval battle off St. John, Villebon tried unsuccessfully to negotiate the freedom of 60 French prisoners taken in the siege. Although another expedition was launched against Quebec during Queen Anne’s War, it failed to reach its target when transports wrecked with great loss of life in the Gulf of St-Lawrence. The city’s improved defenses would not be tested until the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759.*

Québec did not have extensive fortifications in 1690, and the whole landward side of the city to the north and west was exposed, particularly at the **Plains of Abraham**. *Count Frontenac* returned to Canada for a second term as Governor-General, being sent with an expedition that reached Québec in mid-October. Frontenac ordered the *construction of a wooden palisade* to enclose the city [ ] and *Major Provost* oversaw the construction of eleven small stone redoubts in this *enceinte* to protect against cannonfire. Facing the plains on the west side was the strong point of the landward defenses—a windmill called *Mont-Carmel* where *a three-gun battery* was in place. The palisade line ended on the east side of the city, near the hospital. The batteries facing the river were *also* improved, with eight guns... and six 18-pounders were placed at the docksides. Temporary obstacles had been put in place, *as well*, on the street leading up to the upper city.

In the meantime, a mobile war party of 150 Albany militia and Iroquois warriors under *Captain John Schuyler* marched and canoed overland to Montréal, imitating the *petite guerre tactics* (long-range expeditions into enemy territory) perfected by the French colonists. Schuyler’s expedition was

designed to seize Montréal and pin French forces south of Québec, allowing the Boston fleet to sail against the capital unopposed. *Smallpox, lack of supplies*, and *disagreements among the officers* caused most of the militia and Iroquois to turn back in disgust, leaving Schuyler with a fraction of the 855 men promised by the New England authorities.

On September 4<sup>th</sup> the English raiders attacked settlements south of Montréal, killing some 50 habitants in the middle of their harvests. Too weak to risk a battle with the town’s garrison, Schuyler wrapped up the New England invasion and turned home. Thus, when *Phips was sighted off Tadoussac*, Frontenac ordered the *garrisons of Montréal and Trois-Rivières* to make for the threatened capital with all haste. Four days later the Governor arrived in Québec with 200–300 troops freed-up by the failure of Schuyler’s invasion, considerably lifting the capital’s spirit of resistance.

*Iroquois warriors, though, struck the Canadienne settlements near Montréal. Fifty-six farms were destroyed and more than a hundred Canadiennes were killed or captured.* Denonville had his regulars dispersed to towns across the land, *attempting to protect Canadienne homes and families*. Nevertheless, forts were abandoned as *the Iroquois destroyed farmsteads and whole families were slaughtered or captured*.

During the summer of 1691, Dutch-born *Major Pieter Schuyler* led a force of 120 Albany militia and 146 Mohawk and Mahican allies, invading French settlements along the Richelieu River *south of Montréal*. French governor *de Callières* responded by massing 700-800 French marines and Indian allies at the fort at La Prairie, *on the south shore of the St-Lawrence River*. The English and Indian force was repulsed with significant casualties by the French and their Indian allies. *Schuyler surprised the much larger French force in a rainstorm* just before dawn on August 11<sup>th</sup>, inflicting severe casualties before withdrawing towards the Richelieu. Schuyler’s force might have remained intact but *instead* was intercepted by the force of 160 men led by **Philippe Clément du Vuault de la Valrennes**, captain of the Régiment de Normandie... that had been detached to block the road to Chambly. The two sides fought in *vicious hand-to-hand combat* for *approximately* an hour, before Schuyler’s force broke through and escaped. The French *had* suffered the most casualties during Schuyler’s initial ambush, but those casualties suffered by the Albany force after Valrennes’ counterattack meant *that* they had incurred the greater proportion of loss. Instead of continuing his raids, Schuyler was forced to retreat back to Albany.

Then, in February 1692, a raid was conducted against three Mohawk villages located in the *Mohawk River valley* by French and Indian warriors under the overall command of **Nicolas d’Ailleboust de Manthet**, captain in the French marines serving in Canada. De Manthet fought in many battles during his military career: (In 1689 he had participated in *the attack against the Senecas at the Lake of Two Mountains* (v.s.), thereby saving that year’s fur trade from capture).

Together with **Jacques le Moyne de Ste-Hélène** *Montréal-born son of Charles Le Moyne and Catherine Thierry and brother of Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville founder of the French colony of La Louisiane (Louisiana)*, he led 114 *Canadiennes* and 96 allied Indians in *an attack on Schenectady* in 1690. He *also* participated in the raid against the Mohawk towns in 1692, resulting in the destruction of those villages, including critical stores of food. Many, the English-allied Mohawk were either killed or captured, with the latter *intended to populate Christian Indian villages near Montréal*. But, the raiders, burdened with their prisoners, were followed by a rapidly deployed *English-Iroquois force led by Major Pieter Schuyler*. The two forces engaged in skirmishing a few days after the raid. Because of the pursuit, the raiders were forced to release most of their prisoners, and were subjected to *starvation* due to the *spoilage of some of their supply caches* before they returned to Montréal. The Mohawk were seriously weakened as a military force within the Iroquois League, and the raid’s effects contributed to the *1701 peace negotiated between the Iroquois, French, and many other tribes*. It was when leading an attack against Fort Albany in the Hudson Bay that d’Ailleboust was killed in action.

#### Marie-Madeleine Jarret de Vercherès

In the late-1600s *the Iroquois mounted attacks on the settlers of Nouveau France*, looting and burning their homes. *François Jarret de St-Chef*<sup>85</sup> joined

<sup>85</sup> On 17 September 1669 Jarret married *child-bride Marie Perrot* (age 12) at Île d’Orléans. He was awarded a land grant on the south shore of the St-Lawrence River on 29 October 1672 in *a seigneurie called Vercherès*, and *thereafter* continued to increase his land holdings. The couple was to have twelve children, the fourth of whom was *Marie-Madeleine*, born at Vercherès on 3 March 1678 and baptized that April 17<sup>th</sup>.

his uncle **Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecoeur**,<sup>86</sup> an officer in the **Carignan-Salières Regiment**, to battle the Iroquois in Nouveau France (see Beaver Wars). They arrived there in August 1665. The seigneurie underwent *periodic Iroquois raids*. In 1690 *the matron of Vercherès took command of a successful defense against an Iroquois assault on the stockade* there. Before she performed this courageous act, she *usually* worked in the family field during her spare time.

On 22 October 1692 Madeleine's parents left the fort on business and to gather winter supplies. Madeleine (age 14) and her brothers and sisters stayed at the fort. One morning, some settlers left the fort to tend to the fields along with eight soldiers. Madeleine was in the cabbage garden, quite close to the fort. Suddenly, *the Iroquois descended on the settlers*. The men, caught off guard, tried to flee to safety... but the Iroquois were too quick for them and they were easily caught and carried off. Madeleine, working only 200 paces from the fort, had a head start on the Iroquois who were chasing her. One of the savages caught up to her and grabbed her by her kerchief... which she quickly untied, running into the fort shouting, "**Aux armes! Aux armes!**"

So it was that Madeleine took charge of the fort, with one very old man (Laviolette) and 2 soldiers. *She ran to the bastions and fired a musket*, encouraging her people – the young, old and sick – to make as much noise as possible so that the Iroquois would think there were many soldiers defending the fort. Then *she fired the cannon* to warn other forts of an attack and to call for reinforcements. The Iroquois had hoped a surprise attack would easily take over the fort, so for a moment, they retreated into the bushes with their prisoners.

During the siege, *Madeleine noticed a canoe approaching the landing site with a family named Fontaine. The soldiers inside the fort refused to leave*, so *Madeleine ran to the dock and led the family quickly inside*, pretending to be reinforcements. Late in the evening, when *the settlers' cattle returned* to the fort; she knew *that* the Iroquois could be hiding with the herd "covered in animal skins." She had her two brothers wait with her to check the cattle for warriors but none were found and the cows were brought inside the fort.

Reinforcements from Montréal arrived just after the Iroquois left. Tired but relieved, Madeleine greeted the French lieutenant, "Mon seigneur, I surrender to you my arms." The reinforcements caught the Iroquois and returned the kidnapped settlers. By this time, Madeleine's parents had returned and *news of Madeleine's heroic deed had spread through the colony*.

### King William's War (continued)

The **Battle of Fort Albany** in 1693 was the successful recapture by English forces of the **Hudson's Bay Company trading outpost at Fort Albany in the southern reaches of Hudson Bay**. The fort, captured by a French expedition in 1686 had been held by them in a battle the following year, being briefly defended by five Frenchmen, who then abandoned the fort and its stockpile of furs to a four-ship English fleet commanded by **James Knight**<sup>87</sup> – an HBC explorer.

There were *similar tensions on the border between New England and Acadia*, which Nouveau France defined as the **Kennebec River (in southern Maine)**. English *settlers from Boston* (whose charter included the Maine area) had expanded their settlements into Acadia entering into *peace and trade negotiations with the Abenaki tribes* in eastern Massachusetts. The French at Québec under **Governor Frontenac** wished to disrupt the negotiations and sent

**Claude-Sébastien de Villieu**<sup>88</sup> in the fall of 1693 into [*present-day Maine*] with orders to "place himself at the head of the Acadian Indians and lead them against the English." Villieu spent the winter at **Fort Nashwaak**. The Indian bands of the region were in general disagreement whether to attack the English or not, but after discussions by Villieu and the support of **Père Louis-Pierre Thury** and **Père Vincent Bigot** (at Pentagouet) they went on the offensive.

To secure their claim, Nouveau France established **Catholic missions** among the *three largest native villages in the region*: one on the Kennebec River (Norridgewock); one further north on the Penobscot River (Penobscot) and one on the St. John River (Medoctec).

The **Oyster River Massacre** (at *present-day Durham, New Hampshire*) happened on 18 July 1694. The **English settlement of Oyster River** was attacked by **de Villieu** with about 250 Abenaki Indians, composed of two main groups from the **Penobscot and Norridgewock** under command of their **sagamore Bomazeen (or Bomoseen)**. A number of Algonquian-speaking **Maliseet** from **Medoctec**<sup>89</sup> (meaning "the end of the path"; an important fur trading centre located near the confluence of the Eel River and St. John River in New Brunswick) took part in the attack. The Indian force was divided into two groups to attack the settlement, which was laid out on both sides of the Oyster River. Villieu led the **Pentagoet** and the **Meductic/Nashwaaks**. The *attack commenced at daybreak*, with the *small forts quickly falling to the attackers*. In all, 104 inhabitants were killed and 27 taken captive, with half the dwellings, including the garrisons, pillaged and burned to the ground. Crops were destroyed and livestock killed, causing *famine and destitution* for survivors.

After the successful raid on Oyster River, **de Villieu** joined Acadian Governor **Joseph Robineau de Villebon** as the **commander of Fort Nashwaak**, capital of Acadia.

In 1688 much needed ships had been hard to get – thus, when d'Iberville tried to take York Factory, in 1690, he was driven away by a larger English ship. In 1694 Frontenac gave him the **Salamandre** and **Poli**. D'Iberville reached the **Nelson River** on September 14<sup>th</sup>. **York Factory was captured** in 1694: The fort was invested and on October 14<sup>th</sup> – and it surrendered. (The English garrison consisted mainly of traders, clerks and laborers and they had not brought in enough firewood to withstand a long siege).

Among the 53 men who surrendered was English fur trader and explorer **Henry Kelsey**.<sup>90</sup> The post was renamed Fort Bourbon. Since it was late in the

<sup>88</sup> According to his own statement, **de Villieu** served for *fifteen years on the battlefields of Europe*, beginning in 1674, before coming to Nouveau France. He participated in *the defense of Québec* when it was attacked by New England colonists in 1690. In 1692 he married **Judith Leneuf** daughter of **Michel Leneuf de La Vallière de Beaubassin**. He led French forces in the 1694 raid on Durham, New Hampshire, after which he was rewarded with *command of Fort Nashwaak*. He participated with **Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de St-Castin** in **Pierre Le Moyné d'Iberville's** successful **Siege of Pemaquid** in 1696. The ship carrying him from **Pemaquid** was captured, and he was *imprisoned in Boston*. Eventually released back to France, he returned to Acadia, where he served as the *temporary governor* from July 1700 to December 1701 after the death of **Governor Robineau de Villebon**.

Little is known of the rest of his life. He was known to have difficult relations with his superiors, but was popular with the people in Acadia.

<sup>89</sup> The other two significant native villages in the region were the **Abenaki village of Norridgewock** (*present-day Madison, Maine*) on the **Kennebec River** and **Penobscot** (*present-day Penobscot Indian Island Reservation*) on the **Penobscot River**.

<sup>90</sup> **Kelsey** (age 17) apprenticed in London to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1684 and departed England for Canada on 6 May 1684. He was posted at a fort on Hudson's Bay near *present-day York Factory*, near the mouth of the Nelson River on Hudson Bay. Kelsey started *exploring* in the winter of 1688–1689 when he and a First Nations boy *carried mail overland* 200 miles from Fort York to **Fort Severn**, another HBC post. He was described as "a very active Lad delighting much in Indians' company, being never better pleased than when he is traveling among them." In the summer of 1689, Kelsey and the same First Nations boy tried to find First Nations *north of the Churchill River* to open trade with them. Kelsey travelled inland for about 235 miles north of the Churchill, but returned without having any success.

Kelsey *returned to England* in 1693, reenlisted in 1694 and returned to York Factory. In 1694 and again in 1697, York Factory was *captured* by the French. Kelsey returned to England at these times, on the second occasion as *a prisoner of the French*. In 1698, he went back to the New World, this time to Fort Albany on James Bay. In 1701, he became *master of a trading frigate*, the **Knight**, in Hudson Bay, continuing the trade in beaver pelts. In 1703, he returned for a time to England. In 1705 Kelsey went back to Fort Albany as *chief trader*. In 1712, he returned again to England. In 1714 he made his *sixth journey across the Atlantic Ocean*, appointed as **Deputy Governor of York Factory**, which the British had recaptured from the French. In 1717, he was appointed as **Governor of York Factory** and in 1718 as **Governor of all the Hudson's Bay settlements**. In 1719 and 1721, he undertook *missions to the Arctic*.

By 1692 the Iroquois had killed the Jarrets' son François-Michel and two successive husbands of their daughter Marie-Jeanne.

<sup>86</sup> He led numerous campaigns and was wounded several times. He stayed in Canada at the time the regiment disbanded. A number of the officers who stayed were granted generous lands. His seigneurie gave its name to present-day Contrecoeur, Québec.

<sup>87</sup> **Knight** was born in England and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1676 as a carpenter. In 1682, he became **Chief Factor of the trading post of Fort Albany** in James Bay where he became rich. In 1697, he bought stock in the HBC, and in 1711, he gained a seat on the board of directors.

Knight was determined to find the **Northwest Passage**, a then-hypothetical route *connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans* through the Canadian North. A Chipewyan interpreter, working for Knight, told him of a possible, mineral-rich route across the north. Knight outfitted two ships, the **Albany** with **Capt. George Berley** and the **Discovery** with **Capt David Vaughan**, to search for this route, setting off in 1719. They never returned.

It is possible the ships encountered the shallows of the local waters of **Marble Island** (located 32 km from today's Rankin Inlet) and were wrecked; although they were able to successfully offload large quantities of coal, several cannons and provisions. There is *evidence of interaction with the local Inuit*, but by 1722 Knight and his crew were reported to have perished from *sickness and famine*. Apparently, the HBC post at Churchill, Manitoba was completely unaware of the shipwreck, as no search or rescue expedition was ever sent: The ruins of Knight's settlement on Marble Island were discovered in 1768 by company explorer **Samuel Hearne**.

season both the Canadiennes and their captives had to spend the winter there. By the time the ice broke up many on both sides had died of *scurvy*. D'Iberville waited, hoping to capture the annual English supply ships. By September they had not arrived, so he left 70 men at the fort and sailed for La Rochelle with a valuable load of furs.

*D'Iberville's victory was nullified by two factors. The previous year (1693) the English had recaptured Fort Albany to the south on James Bay. Ten months after Iberville left three Royal Navy frigates under William Allen recaptured York Factory.*

In February 1696, *Captain Pasco Chubb violated an assembly that was held under a flag of truce, by killing a number of the Abenaki chiefs* who were present, including Mi'kmaq *Chief Aspinquid (Aspenquid)*, whom was "Chief Sacham of all the Tribes of Indians in the Northern District of North America" – and whom had converted to Catholicism and drew many others into the faith: (As a result, Aspinquid was made *a martyr* and became *a saint*). After the death of St-Aspinquid, *Père Louis-Pierre Thury*<sup>91</sup> of the Foreign Missions - a liaison between the French and their Native American allies during the course of the conflict – officially, he was the French missionary (secular priest) to the Mi'kmaq people at Shubenacadie and Chibouctou, being the first missionary assigned to Halifax, (but died before this project could be undertaken).

In 1696 the *King William's war* was in its seventh year. The **Raid on Chignecto** aka the **naval battle off St. John** took place on 14 July 1696 in the *Bay of Fundy* (off present-day St. John, New Brunswick). The English ships were sent from Boston to interrupt the supplies being taken by d'Iberville from Québec to Fort Nashwaak, the capital of Acadia on the St-John River. The French ships of war *Envieux* and *Profond* captured the English frigate *Newport* (24 guns), while the English frigate *Sorlings* (34 guns) and a provincial tender escaped.

D'Iberville sailed from Rochefort, Charente-Maritime to Québec City, where he took on board *eighty troops and Canadiennes*; then proceeded to *Havre à l'Anglois* (future site of Louisbourg) and *Cape Breton*, where-at he embarked *thirty Mi'kmaq*, and departed for the St-John River. While at nearby *Baie des Espagnols*, d'Iberville heard two English vessels were in the Bay of Fundy and decided to attempt to capture them.

On July 5<sup>th</sup>, 140 natives (Mi'kmaq and Maliseet), with **Jacques Testard de Montigny**, an officer in *le Troupes de la marine* (French Marines in Canada), and *Chevalier*, from their location of *Manawoganish island*, ambushed the crews of four English vessels. Some of the English were coming ashore in a long boat to get firewood. A native killed five of the nine men in the boat. The Mi'kmaq burned the vessel under the direction of Père Florentine (missionary to the Mi'kmaqs at Chignectou).

Led by *St-Castin*, the *tribes of the Wabanaki Confederacy* (Abenaki Nation) joined forces with *d'Iberville* at Pentagouet. On 14 August 1696, *d'Iberville led the siege of Fort Church* (Fort William Henry): Five hundred warriors descended onto the fort in their canoes, and surrounded it, thereby pinning the English inside. This strategy allowed d'Iberville, who had arrived with three French ships, to enter the harbor and unload his cannons. They immediately began to lay siege to the fort. *Captain Chubb* refused to surrender. The assault went on until the afternoon of the next day. In the terms of his surrender, Chubb arranged for his men to be escorted to Boston and exchanged for French and Indian prisoners held there... but d'Iberville killed three of the soldiers before sending the other 92 back to Boston. The victory at Pemaquid was one of the most significant the French had during the war. The siege resulted in a retaliatory raid by New England forces on Acadia.

### The Avalon Peninsula Campaign

After the *Siege of Pemaquid*, *d'Iberville* and *Sieur de Brouillan*<sup>92</sup> led a force of 124 Canadians, Acadians, Mi'kmaq and Abenakis in the **Avalon**

where he met with *Inuit people* and searched for copper deposits. In 1722, Kelsey was *recalled to England*. He died on 1 November 1, 1724 and was buried on 2 November 1724. He was distinguished for his ability to establish good relations with Indians, which enabled him to be mostly successful as a trader.

<sup>91</sup> In 1689, *Père Thury* took part in the *destruction of Pemaquid*, after gaining great influence over the *Abenaki people*. In 1692, he took part in *attacks on the English colony of York (Maine)* along with *Abenaki and French war parties*. He later took part in the *attack against Pescadouet* (Oyster River), and was present with *Joseph Robineau de Villebon* and a party of Abenakis at the *siege and capture of Pemaquid* (present-day Bristol, Maine) by *Pierre Le Moynes d'Iberville* and *Baron de St-Castin* between 14–15 August 1696.

<sup>92</sup> *Jacques-François de Monbeton de Brouillan*, a French military officer and Governor of Plaisance (Placentia), Newfoundland (1689-1701) and Acadia (1701-1705),

**Peninsula Campaign**. They destroyed 23 English settlements along the southern coast of Newfoundland *in the span of three months – without serious opposition*.

The *Newfoundland campaign* involved *a novel strategy - both a land and sea assault of the villages*. D'Iberville attacked by land while de Brouillan attacked by sea. D'Iberville's strategy of attacking the settlement by land was *the first recorded in Newfoundland* and, *as a result, the port villages were only prepared for an assault by sea*. D'Iberville left Placentia on **All Saints' Day** (November 1<sup>st</sup>) with his detachment of 124 men; soldiers, Acadians, and Indians. It was an 80 kilometres (50 miles), nine-day march across the Avalon Peninsula.

On the morning of November 9<sup>th</sup>, the *residents of Ferryland awoke to a frightening sight*. On the horizon, emerging from deep within a wall of fog was *a small armada of French Men of War*. When within range, the French began a bombardment of the settlement through continuous broadside cannon volleys. *Sieur de Brouillan* had begun the *Siege of Ferryland*. The campaign continued along the coast until they raided the village of *Heart's Content*, a natural harbour located on the east side of *Trinity Bay*, which was *used by migratory fisherman from England*... the area being permanently settled from *at least* 1677. Over 100 English were killed, many times that number captured and *almost* 500 deported to England or France. The final 30 men plus women and children were holdup in *a fort commanded by Irishmen*. The occupants surrendered to the French.

D'Iberville set out against *Bay Bulls*, a natural bay off the island of Newfoundland, *using small boats he had taken in Ferryland*. On his way *Cape Broyle* was captured on November 12<sup>th</sup>. He then captured Bay Bulls on November 24<sup>th</sup>, including a 100-ton merchant ship. Then, after a three-hour march from Bay Bulls, d'Iberville met up with his group of 20 scouts who had been sent to study the approaches to St. John's. Two days later, he encountered *a detachment of 30 English soldiers* posted on a hilltop near *Petty Harbour*,<sup>93</sup> *a small port just eight kilometres south of St. John's* - an area known for its scenery, icebergs, and whales. On November 26<sup>th</sup>, d'Iberville charged and *the enemy surrendered immediately*. D'Iberville and his men were in command, *however*, some colonists from Petty Harbour escaped to St. John's, where they alerted its residents.

As d'Iberville marched into St. John's from Petty Harbour, *English residents marched out the Waterford Valley (Burnt Wood) to meet and repel the French*. A pitched battle occurred in the Waterford Valley and on the *Heights of Kilbride* (November 28<sup>th</sup>). Of the 88 English defenders, 34 died in the battle. The English broke ranks and hastily retreated to St. John's.

As d'Iberville approached St. John's, the English settlers scattered. Many sailed away, others escaped to the forests. A number of settlers and soldiers took refuge in *King William's Fort*<sup>94</sup> - the original headquarters of the British garrison in Newfoundland. For three days the French laid siege to the small fortification, which had been prepared in the city, where they held out for a further 48 hours. On November 30<sup>th</sup>, the English commander, Governor

was born to a *Protestant nobleman* at Gascony and, while *serving as captain of the French forces in French Canada*, he *renounced Protestantism* and was *baptized a Roman Catholic* at Québec in 1687. In 1689 he *returned to France* [ ] and became *governor of Plaisance* on 1 June 1690. While at Plaisance, de Brouillan *defended the settlement three times against British attacks*, in 1691, 1692 and 1693. During *a visit to France* in 1695 he was instructed to team up with *Pierre Le Moynes d'Iberville*. During the winter of 1696-1697, with troops in the command of d'Iberville, de Brouillan *attacked, captured and burned St. John's*.

With *the death of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, the governor of Acadia* in 1700, de Brouillan was given command of the government there in 1701 (although the actual title of governor was not given until 1702). His poor health was evident during this period and he died in 1705.

He appears to have been an effective governor both at Placentia and at Port-Royal. His organization of defenses in these two posts was notable. He *also* promoted the economic growth of Acadia by *developing the fisheries, logging the forests, and building ships*.

<sup>93</sup> The present town of *Petty Harbour-Maddox Cove* is *approximately* 200 years old: It is nestled deep in the heart of *Motion Bay, just south of St. John's*. The site has been continuously occupied since at least 1598, predating the arrival of the *Mayflower* - making it *one of the oldest European settlements in North America*.

<sup>94</sup> This signal disaster, and *especially* the conensation it caused in New England, at last stimulated the British government to provide a permanent defence force for the island. A strong British relief force of 1500 troops reoccupied St. John's in the summer of 1697; they found the town abandoned, pillaged and every building destroyed. That winter, 214 of 300 soldiers perished due to lack of provisions and shelter. The following year construction was begun on a well-engineered fortification - *Fort William* - which, when completed in 1700, had brick-faced ramparts, bomb-proof parapets, powder magazines and proper barracks.



**Miners**, surrendered on condition *that* the English were allowed to leave St. John's - **the town and fort were burned to the ground**. 230 men, women and children were sent off in a ship *and duly arrived in Dartmouth, England*. However a further 80 refugees were drowned when their ship foundered off the coast of Spain.

After destroying St. John's, the French marched eastward on **Torbay** (December 2<sup>nd</sup>), and **Portugal Cove** (December 5<sup>th</sup> and January 13<sup>th</sup>). Internal struggles between de Brouillan and d'Iberville over **the spoils of war** followed. On December 25<sup>th</sup> de Brouillan left for Plaisance... and the French burnt 80 shallops in the harbour (January 2<sup>nd</sup>). The villages on **Conception Bay** were the next targets: **Holyrood** (January 19<sup>th</sup>) was first followed by **Harbour Main** (January 20<sup>th</sup>) and **Port de Grave** (January 23<sup>rd</sup>).

On 24 January 1697, two hundred permanent residents of **Carbonear** withdrew to **Carbonear Island** and successfully fended off the French and Indian attack on January 31<sup>st</sup>. D'Iberville had only 70 men, the rest were dispersed in local skirmishes, holding villages and prisoners. Leaving Carbonear d'Iberville then attacked **Old Perlican** (February 4<sup>th</sup>), **Bay de Verde** (February 6<sup>th</sup>), **Hant's Harbour** (February 7<sup>th</sup>), **New Perlican** and **Heart's Content** (February 9<sup>th</sup>). In many cases the local fishermen had fled to Carbonear. There was **an unsuccessful attempt at a prisoner exchange** (February 18<sup>th</sup>). Frustrated, d'Iberville then sacked **Brigus** (February 11<sup>th</sup>) and **Port de Grave** again (February 11<sup>th</sup>). Carbonear Island continued to hold out but d'Iberville torched their evacuated settlement on February 28<sup>th</sup> before leaving.

D'Iberville then headed back to Heart's Content before coming ashore at **Bellevue Beach** and walking in a small group across the **Avalon Peninsula isthmus**. On March 4<sup>th</sup>, he arrived at Plaisance... then picked up his **spoils of war**, his scattered troops and *approximately* 200 prisoners at **Bay Boullé** (March 18<sup>th</sup> to May 18<sup>th</sup>). **French attacks by sea on the remnants of the settlements continued into the spring** (March 27<sup>th</sup> to April 19<sup>th</sup>).

D'Iberville never returned to Newfoundland. These raids devastated the English settlements of Newfoundland. Every English settlement in Newfoundland had been destroyed and the English colony had been depopulated, except for **Bonavista**, which d'Iberville did not reach and the island holdout at **Carbonear**. Estimates of **eighty percent of the families were killed, deserted the village, were taken prisoner or were deported**. However the English were able to recapture their Newfoundland territory in summer of 1697 with a strong relief force of 1500 troops. They found St. John's and all the English harbours on the Avalon abandoned, pillaged and every building

destroyed. The English slowly began to rebuild and resettle. As a result of the campaign, the English government created permanent defenses for Newfoundland. Previously the English had not built permanent fortifications or garrisons in Newfoundland as it was regarded as a seasonal fishing base. However d'Iberville's devastating campaign had demonstrated the threat to the poorly defended colony. The following year construction began on professionally engineered fortifications at Fort William.

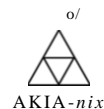
The war continued for more than a year after the **Peace of Ryswick** - ending the Nine Years War between France and the Grand Alliance of England, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire and the Dutch Republic - concluded between France and England. Meanwhile, **Chief Madokawando** had moved to **Meductic**, a Maliseet-Abenaki Indian mission village on the St. John River where he died in the 1698 epidemic brought by the colonizers.

Major Church retaliated for the siege by going to Acadia and engaging in the Raid on Chignecto. Chubb was tracked down by the natives two years later in his home in Andover and was massacred along with his family.

The **general ideology of Roman Catholicism and reform** embedded within the **Council of Trent** can be traced to St-Vallier. His various construction projects entail common ideals in that **his goal was to restore and renew power and authority in the Catholic Church** as the main institution of administrative organization. In 1697, St-Valier built **a palace in Québec** for his clergy and as **a place of hospitality**. During the same year, he *also* established **a nun's monastery at Trois-Rivières**. St-Vallier's zeal of religious activities and establishments, stretched from Québec, Montréal, Acadia and Louisiana. His way of life embodied that of the ideals and obligations embodied within the **Council of Trent**.

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